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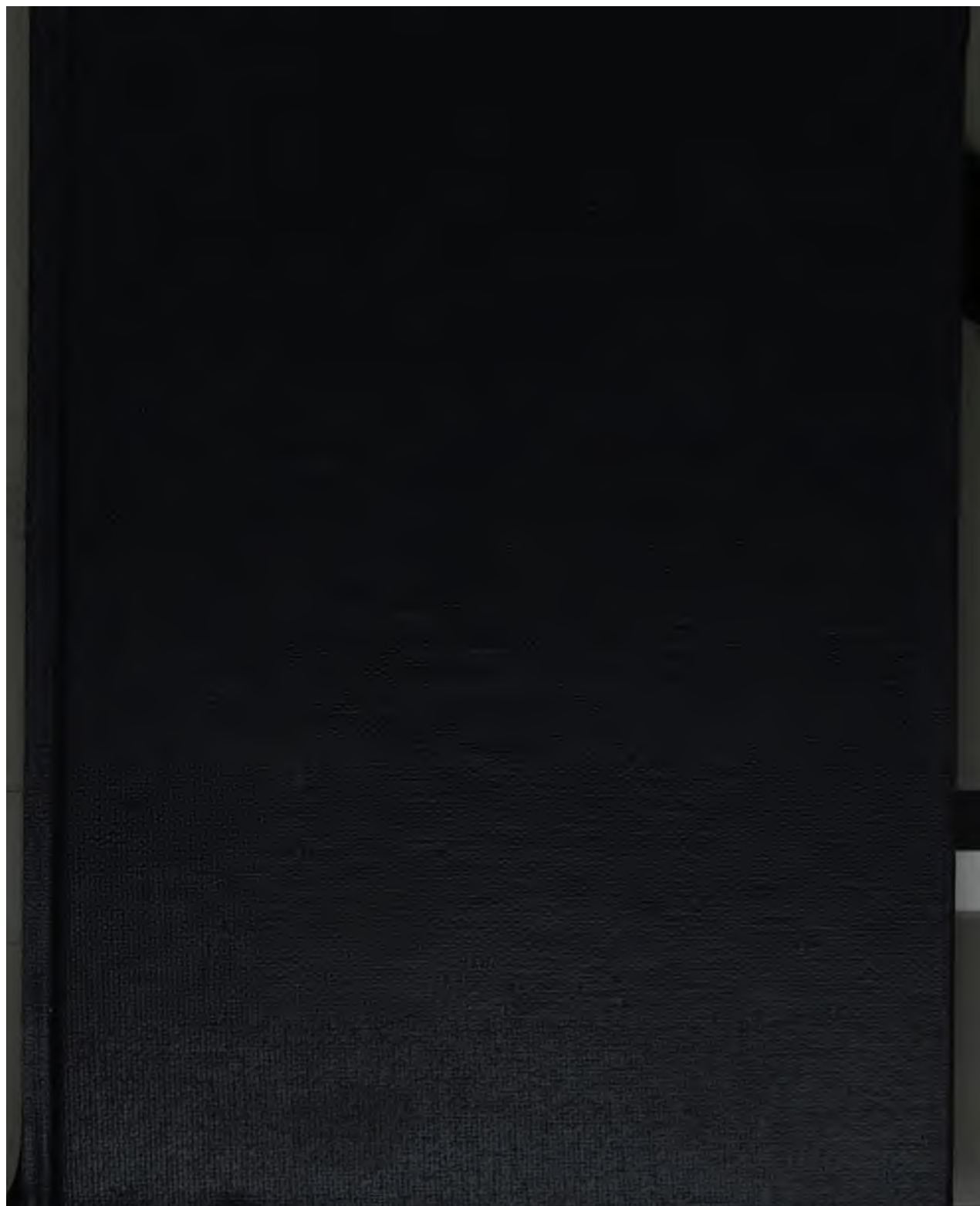
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# Free Silver

AND THE PEOPLE

## SILVER vs. GOLD

THE CAMPAIGN HAND-BOOK

All the Arguments at a Glance

The Millions  
Against  
the  
Millionaires



The People  
Against  
the  
Bondholders

By C. M. STEVANS, Author of "Bryan and Sewall"

**BE PREPARED**

To Meet the Assertions of the Bondholders

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No Cross of Gold*

—WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

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SILVER vs. GOLD.

# Free Silver and the People.

A CAMPAIGN HAND-BOOK FOR  
THE STRUGGLING MILLIONS AGAINST THE  
GOLD-HOARDING MILLIONAIRES.

By C. M. STEVANS,  
*Author of "Bryan and Sewall and the Great Issue of 1896."*

MOTTO: *Salus publica suprema lex esto.*

" You may fool some people all the time,  
And all the people some of the time,  
But you can't fool all the people all the time."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED  
TO THOSE  
WHO BELIEVE IN  
THE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH  
AND  
THE RIGHTS OF HONEST PROPERTY;  
WHO DISBELIEVE AS MUCH IN  
DISHONEST VALUES AS IN VALUES DISHONESTLY OBTAINED.  
WHO PURPOSE TO PRESS ONWARD TO SUCCESS THE MOVEMENT TO RID OUR LEGISLATION  
OF THE INCUBUS OF  
POLITICAL SYNDICATES  
AND  
GOLD-HOARDING SPECULATORS,  
AND  
TO RESTORE TO THEIR RIGHTFUL INFLUENCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, THE MANY MILLIONS  
OF HONEST COMMONERS TO WHOM THIS GOVERNMENT OF RIGHT BELONGS.



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## A WARNING TO THE MONEY POWER OF THE EAST.

A NOTED Western student of the rights of man believes that the gold standard, as a monopoly, a breeder and protector of monopolies, will, if continued, become so oppressive that a free-born and liberty-loving people will dethrone the monster reign of gold at any cost and restore the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number at ANY CONSEQUENCE. The people are the Government, not so the money power.

Ignatius Donnelly in the New York Journal says:

“There can be no doubt that the coming campaign will be the fiercest and the most important that has been fought on the American continent. Even the great battle which resulted in the first election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency was not so tremendous as this is going to be. On the one side we will have the combined power of all the

capitalists of Europe. On the other hand will be seventy millions of people, many of them reduced to the greatest poverty, hundreds of thousands of whom have been forced from their homes and made wanderers on the face of the earth, while still other hundreds of thousands are mortgaged to the eyelids and looking forward into a future as black as death and desolation.

“The feeling will be most intense. Pulsations that will thrill through the country will have in them almost the fierceness of civil war. Men will deposit their ballots with the same vehemence with which they would fire their guns. Everywhere we hear the talk that in this question cannot be settled peaceably by the ballot revolution stands in the background, and it must not be forgotten that the men who entertain these sentiments are not only the most intelligent, but the most warlike on earth. In their hands the bankers of Wall Street, with all their gold, would be as powerless as children. It is not well or safe to drive such a people to desperate extremities.

“It will be the part of wisdom for those who have the most of this world's goods not to tumbl

them into the bloody vortex of war and anarchy in an effort to increase their wealth. The possessors of great fortunes can never safely encounter those having nothing to lose and everything to gain by revolution.

"The East is disposed to underestimate the West of this country. They simply know it by the vast trains of produce borne from the fields to the centers of commerce. They forget that these fields are occupied by men of their own race, a brave, patient, peaceful Christian people, who can, however, by misery be transformed into demons.

"The different sections of the country must come to possess more just and fair conceptions of each other. The Eastern States are simply a semi-Europeanized fringe, standing between the New and the Old World. The real power of America is in the Valley of the Mississippi. It was from there that the great armies came which triumphed in the civil war. It was there that Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Logan, Sheridan, and a host of other powerful heroes were nurtured and developed. It was not until these Western armies and Western generals were transferred under the leadership of the hero of

Appomattox to the camps surrounding Richmond that the outnumbered armies of secession went down to defeat.

“God forbid that the people of New York, Pennsylvania, and New England should ever be called upon to face the united warriors of the South and West. In the struggle that would follow the whole face of society and the map of the world might be changed.

“It is the part of the Eastern statesman to look into these things carefully and not permit the continued existence of any system that will longer uphold the swindling and robbery of the bone and sinew of the country.”

*"You must not force a crown of thorns on the brow of Labor:  
Nor crucify mankind upon a Cross of Gold."*—WM. J. BRYAN.

## ON A CROSS OF GOLD.

BY ROBERT ASHE.

Emblazoned on our banners high,  
Behold the legend grand;  
Attracting by its honesty,  
The millions of our land.  
To once again proclaim the truth,  
In accents loud and bold:  
"Mankind cannot be crucified  
Upon a cross of gold."

This legend is our battle cry,  
"Twill guide us night and day;  
"Twill lead our hosts to victory,  
Our foemen to dismay.  
But friends from every rank of life,  
We welcome to that fold;  
"Where man cannot be crucified  
Upon a cross of gold."

What though the power of wealth ordains  
The people to deride;  
Enough true manhood yet remains  
To sweep that power aside.  
And in its place again proclaim,  
That truth so nobly told;  
"Mankind cannot be crucified  
Upon a cross of gold."

Night's sable mantle disappears,  
The morning beams are bright;  
The cherished hopes of waiting years,  
Triumphant, loom in sight.  
Then nail our legend to the mast,  
Let every eye behold;  
"You cannot crucify mankind  
Upon a cross of gold."

All hail the advancing hosts of right,  
All hail the hero grand;  
Who bears our legend through the fight,  
Which shall redeem our land.  
When class, and caste, shall cease to be,  
Nor men be bought and sold;  
But live for higher aims in life  
Than worshipers of gold.

*From the Machinists' Monthly Journal.*



“THE SITUATION PRESENTS THE MOST  
EST CIVIC QUESTION THAT EVER CONVULSED  
A CIVILIZED NATION.”—*General Weaver*.

“HOW SHALL HE BECOME WISE THAT HOLD-  
ETH THE PLOW.”—*Ecclesiasticus*.

“THE GOLD STANDARD MAY BE MAINTAINED  
IN A LOCAL COINAGE TO ROB A NATION OF  
SERFS, BUT A NATION OF FREEMEN—NEVER!”

# Free Silver and the People.

---

## CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN TO THE BLAND CLUB AT CHICAGO.

“WE are now on the verge of a campaign of principle. We are going to fight for that which some are pleased to call ‘dishonest’ money. We are proud of that term, if by it is meant that \$1 is worth just as much as any other dollar, whether it is in the pocket of the workingman or is heaped in the coffers of the capitalist who glories in the number of mortgages he holds on laborers’ homes. [Cries of “That’s right!”]

“We are marching under a banner on which is written in letters of silver ‘16 to 1,’ and will show the other nations of the earth that America is independent of the financial operations of any other power in the world. Abraham Lincoln once said that God must have loved the common people because he made so many of them. The men whom the common people elect to office are not their masters, but rather their servants. They are men who are hired to do a certain work for a certain time. We deem it a matter of enough importance in engaging a hired man at \$2 to \$3 a day to see that he is reliable and honest and capable. Of how much greater moment is it to a great nation to look carefully at its hired man whom it has engaged for a longer time at an increased salary.” [Cheers.]

## THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE GREAT DUTY BEFORE THEM.

“And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.”—*Neh. v., 6, 7.*

This is the day of the age when the multitudes must be soldiers in one grand army for the welfare of all, not merely drawers of water and hewers of wood for the benefit of the manœvering, manipulating men thirsting for power.

The producing commoners of the nation must be trained sailors on the ship of State, not grinding machinery and servile cargo.

The great anvil of humanity is hot for the stroke of truth and the ballot-box of the nation is waiting to command a readjustment of the summer palace built by the money manipulators upon the foundations meant for the healthful, sturdy, prosperous homes of the Republic.

The chief engineer of the ship of State must not be controlled by the money power, but serve his country as the greatest honor and glory in the gift of man. His hand must not be on that lever of gold whose touch has always made man forget his fellow-man and serve the few. His mind and soul and action must be for the whole people.

The net increase of money wealth in the whole nation is not the object of government, but the peace and prosperity of all its deserving individuals according to their labor.

We go to the doctors when we are sick, to the lawyers when we seek redress in legal rights; but when we want our ship of State steered to harbors prosperous and safe for the whole people, we must not call to the helm the professional financial wreckers nor officer the craft of our welfare with financial parasites.

Will the toiling masses of this Republic continue forever like dumb unreasoning brutes in the harness of the usurers whose grasp on gold is the grasp of enslavement on the throat of humanity?

History has never yet recorded such an event. The money manipulators may reason to their own advantage in the conquest of financial fortune, but they forget that at the ballot-box of an aroused nation they are as nothing.

#### THE BALLOT-BOX.

The ballot-box is the inalienable inheritance of every man who claims the protection of this indissoluble Union of American States. To fight for a principle through the ballot-box is not anarchy, but unimpeachable government. No matter how revolutionary a principle might be, if it comes to power through the ballot-box, none can impeach its genuineness or supreme authority. The great issue of 1896 means an attack at the ballot-box by millions of wage-earners upon the assumed prerogative of monetary and corporate trusts to rob the people at large of their common rights. It has been the pretense of all monopolists that they could not abridge the rights of the poorest individual because they are guaranteed by the Government. But who has controlled the Government? The history of railroad legislation shows that wealth has been created for the happy possessors of the inner control to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. Financial legislation has proceeded on similar lines. With all laws in favor of trusts and monopolists, the coercion of Government has enabled the few to tax and absorb the entire earnings of the common people. All the wealth created by the ingenuity of the masses in mechanical arts, in industrial and agricultural pursuits, has gone into the coffers of the few. All the sophistry in the world cannot controvert this simple statement of fact, and the delegates

the Chicago Convention demonstrated that a large majority of the people realize its truth and demand a change.

The strained reasoning of men who assume that they alone possess knowledge of economic science cannot prevail. The attempt to prove to the laboring multitude that the enormous decline in the prices of commodities is due entirely to natural causes and that the people of the new South and the great West are wrong when they declare that gold has appreciated in value through the disuse of silver money is a folly that will become more ridiculous as the so-called campaign of gold-standard education continues. The mortgage-ridden farmers of thirty-five States have learned the truth and awakened at last to a sense of their wrongs, their duty, and their power. Their eyes are opened by the cruel experience of recent years. While the value of farm products has steadily decreased, the mortgage Shylock has never lessened his demands. The cotton planter and the wheat raiser have toiled chiefly for the benefit of the speculator and the railroad magnate. The cattle raiser is at the mercy of the Armour's and the Cudahys. The silver miners have been ground beneath the wheels of the golden juggernaut. He must be blind, indeed, who fails to see that the monopolist, the non-producer, not only seeks to gobble all the profits of the present enterprise of the country, but also to place a mortgage upon all the benefits of future developments. If he can so nullify our silver production as to bring it down to the level of pig lead and then absolutely control the money of the country, he will succeed. The question now is, Will the country stand it?

It may safely be conjectured that they will not. The history of the world proves that there is a limit to the endurance of all oppression.

Thomas Jefferson, in his immortal inaugural, after summing up the true principles of government, said, "Should

we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The supremacy of the bondholder in our Government shows that we have neither peace, liberty, nor safety before us. We have reached Jefferson's sign-board of danger. It is time to turn back.

A QUESTION OF HONESTY, NATIONAL HONOR, AND  
SOCIAL MORALITY.

"A syndicate of millionaire monopolists succeeded in capturing the Republican party organization," says the *New York News*, "and forced it to nominate as its candidate for the Presidency a man whom they own body and soul, and on whom they can consequently rely to favor any scheme whereby the people may be plundered that the rich may gather together still greater wealth and roll still further in ostentatious luxury. Of course it would be immoral and unpatriotic for the voters who believe that governments obtain their just powers only from the consent of the governed, and that taxes squeezed from the masses for the benefit of the classes are nothing but the proceeds of legalized robbery, to support the Ohio major who is almost concealed from public view by the Hanna mortgages.

"The protection of the rights of the people against the assaults, whether open or secret, of the selfish bigots, money-bags, and tax-dodgers of the country may well be considered a moral duty. To defeat the designs of monopolists and usurers on the pockets of the people is acting toward your brethren as you would have them act toward you, and as fine an exemplification of loving your neighbor as yourself as any that can be found in the pages of American history.

"Good morals command that the weak and the lowly shall

have the first care of a government, for the strong and the exalted generally manage to get more than their share of what is to be had. This has been the Democratic party creed since the days of Thomas Jefferson, and it is the creed of its candidate for the Presidency to-day. Viewed as a deep question of morality, the duty of the voter who loves his country and his fellow-beings is clear this year."

*Five these men the credit of knowiny what standard is money in their pockets.*

Those who favor the financial plank of the Republican platform are as follows: THE BANKERS, MONEY LENDERS, CAPITALISTS, MONOPOLISTS, MILLIONAIRES, BONDHOLDERS, SPECULATIVE PROMOTERS, and all their parasites.

#### THE ISSUE.

Gold monometallism or free coinage.

Gold as a merciless tyrant or free coinage as a liberator.

Lombard Street of London      A government of the  
and      or      people, by the people,

Wall Street of New York,      and for the people.

Shall the earnings of the masses steadily flow to the coffers of the few?

Shall billionaire political syndicates rule?

Shall the bondholders or our Government regulate the value of the nation's money?

Shall the present condition of affairs be continued as indorsed by the Republican platform?

Richard P. Bland says: "The issue cannot be disguised—it is an issue between those who advocate and insist upon the full restoration of silver as it existed prior to 1873, those who insist that the crime of 1873 must be wiped out, and those who insist that the crime of 1873 must be ratified and enforced. In other words, the issue is plain as between those who advocate and insist upon the single gold standard and those who insist upon the consi-

tutional bimetallic standard intended for us by our fathers. There is no escaping it; either the gold standard is necessary to our prosperity or the restoration of silver is necessary to our prosperity. Those who believe that the gold standard is necessary for the welfare of our country are fully represented by the Republican platform at St. Louis. Those who have the contrary belief, that for the restoration of silver bimetallism is necessary to the future well-being of our country, are thoroughly represented by the Democratic platform at Chicago. The candidates on these two platforms being in harmony with the platforms, having promised faithfully to abide by their platforms representing the issues before the American people, no special pleading can avoid this issue. The people must vote for the gold standard to be fixed upon us permanently or for the restoration of bimetallism. The Chicago platform demands the restoration of silver without waiting for the aid or assistance of any other nation. We say that bimetallism is a good thing. We say the American people are able to maintain bimetallism. On the other hand, the Republican and gold-standard advocates, while admitting the defects of the gold standard, condemn the position of the Democratic party at Chicago in favoring bimetallism. It seems to me that every true American, every man of independent thought, who believes in and loves his country and who is desirous that it shall maintain for itself its own dignity and independence, must fight for the Chicago platform and nominees."

#### IS MONEY THE MASTER?

A Wall Street broker told the editor of the *Farm, Field and Fireside* that "Money would win the fight if it had to buy the vote of whole States."

His threat does not seem so ridiculous when it is seen that the Republican campaign committees in New York



and Chicago alone represent in their own right more than \$1,000,000,000.

The above-named farmer's journal, hitherto strongly Republican, says:

"Major Wm. McKinley, in his speech at the Lincoln banquet of the Ohio Republican League, February 12, 1891, said in bitter denunciation of the financial policy of Mr. Cleveland:

"He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else. Money the master, everything else its servant. He was not thinking of the poor then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defense. Cheap coats, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of these professing to stand guard over the welfare of the poor and lonely. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption?"

"This denunciation may be called a prophecy in that the Cleveland Administration has accomplished the very results and through the means named which Mr. McKinley then outlined as the Cleveland policy.

"To this policy is largely due the prevailing condition under which 'money the master' is exacting the last dollar of tribute from the servant public. Query: Has McKinley concluded to also make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness and wear the collar of money the master?"

"He now stands on the platform of Clevelandism and stands as the leading champion of that policy he then so vigorously denounced. If so are we compelled, because we have hitherto been Republicans, also to wear the 'master's' collar?"

## STATESMANSHIP AND DEMAGOGY.

They call that man a statesman whose ear is tuned to catch the slightest pulsations of a pocket-book, and denounce as a demagogue any one who dares to listen to the heart-beat of humanity.—*William J. Bryan in House of Representatives.*

The men who are enlisted this year on the side of the great uncounted millions striving for justice and for wider measure of freedom may well bear with indifference the reproaches of their adversaries. They stand in good company, for the most shining names of history became immortal in the face of just such obloquy as they have now to bear. The statesmen responsive to the pulsations of the pocket-book have raised for us an issue greater and more stimulating than any reform of the currency system. They have welded together in solid phalanx the forces of capitalism and the agents of monopoly. They have raised the question whether men or money shall govern this nation.

## CHAPTER II.

## A GOLD CAMPAIGN OF VITUPERATION AND INTIMIDATION.

"We will not bring into the great silver convention personalities, for the reason that individuals are but atoms, while principles are eternal."—*William J. Bryan*.

"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."—*Ancient Maxim*.

INGLORIOUS weakness and vicious aims revel in tirade and abuse. Vile epithets and scurrilous invectives are as certainly the sign of charlatans or an unworthy cause as snarls show the worthlessness of curs or hisses warn of the venom of serpents.

Demagogues, like pestiferous parasites, hang upon the skirts of every great issue, and there would be no significance attachable to the present prominence of nasty epithets in the mouths of the gold-standard advocates if the vulgar anger were confined alone to the insignificant ranters, but the high and mighty in the ranks are smitten with the same vituperative madness.

The picture Macaulay drew of the ruin of London, with the intelligent warder from New Zealand seated on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, pales beside the lurid predictions of disaster with which we are threatened if Mr. Bryan should be elected President next November. To believe these extremists, one would suppose that the end of the Republic was at hand.

If vulgar anger is the certain sign of a wrong and selfish cause, then the present crusade of the gold men against the

determined indignation of the great South and West and the growing sentiment of the great North and East is branded, and no citizen needs to hesitate which side to take, whether he understands the issue or not.

Let the "goldite" newspapers be taken up, absolutely at random, and it will be at once seen that their arguments always degenerate into the slang and vituperation of a vicious and losing cause.

Take any of the chief gold-standard newspapers, both metropolitan and provincial, and the most frequently recurring assertions accompanying every argument will be seen to be substantially as follows:

The people in favor of free coinage are, to quote the *New York Sun*, "ranting repudiators," a "pack of reckless communists," "lawless revolutionists," "howling anarchists," "yawping humbugs and blatherskites."

To quote from the *New York Tribune*, *Herald*, *Post*, and *Mail and Express*, the policy of those who believe in free coinage is not only for the "ruin of the country," the "debasement of the currency" and the "degradation of the Supreme Court," but also it is the "ruthless robbery of labor," "license for riot and [devastation]," "freedom for unrestrained anarchy and revolution."

The *New York Advertiser* sees nothing but a fixed determination for the "uprooting of our institutions—the interest of sharpers and footpads;" the Western and Southern people are "bearded blasphemers;" their opposition to the aggrandizements of the East is because "Eastern men wear clean linen and live decently," thus making the "dirty old crackers feel nasty and cheap." The Western people are "shirtless tramps" and the grievance of the whole lot only a "howling farce."

But such disgusting, sickening, and unspeakable filth used as argument could be cited indefinitely, to the damnation of such monstrous venom put forth as reason for

men. The sooner an indignant free people arouse themselves to the vileness of the powers that be and make them swallow their impotent venom the sooner can our body politic be purged of its blood-poisoning and receive once more the surging inspiration of health, peace, and prosperity. The ballot-box is the clearing-house of human rights, the unimpeachable register of the will of man, and the irresistible breath of freedom before which all the degenerate vicious souls in high places are like chaff in the storm of popular renovation.

A FEW SPECIMENS FROM THE GOLD-STANDARD CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION—IRRESISTIBLE LOGIC AGAINST FREE SILVER—HOW THE GOLD-BUGS FROM THEIR THRIFTY EMINENCE LOOK UPON THE LABORING CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The New York *Sun*, Gold Democratic, says:

"It is the murmur of the assailants of existing institutions; the shriek of the wild-eyed, the tramp of the Coxeyite army marching again upon Washington.

"Repudiation, robbery, inequitable taxation, a free hand for the forces of socialism, a clear field for the advance of the skirmish-line of communism and anarchy."—*July 10*.

"Robbery seems to be the programme all along the line—the robbery of the wage-earner, the small investor, the salaried man, through a depreciated currency; the robbery of the more prosperous of our citizens through an unequal tax on thrift; the robbery of the Government's creditors, here and abroad, by the repudiation of a part of the nation's debt; the destruction of that most precious possession of the nation, its honor as a debtor which pays in full; and, finally, the entry and seizure of the Federal court of last resort."—*July 10*.

"Will Most or Altgeld manage the campaign?"—*July 10*.

NOTE.—Herr Most and the European socialists are fervent gold-standard advocates.

“Down with Jackson and Jefferson and up with our banner, 16 to 1! Pile the load on plutocrats’ backs; sock it to ’em with the income tax. Of gold-bug law we make a sport; when the time comes we’ll pack the court. On with the programme without a hitch; skin the East and skin the rich. Lift the heart and lift the fist; swear to be an anarchist. Our greed is ruin, our flag is red. On, brother anarchists, and raise Ned.”—*Chicago Chants, July 11.*

“If M. François, the crazy anarchist who fired at President Faure the other day, were in this country just now and armed with citizen papers, it is needless to mention the platform he would support or the ticket that he would vote. He would be for Bryan and the Chicago platform.”—*July 13.*

“Surmount the Democratic rooster and the Republican pampas plumes with the national flag, a supreme emblem for Democrats or Republicans who will defend the country against the moral and material destruction threatened by the repudiationists. Make the American flag seen on all buildings, as a sign that the Stars and Stripes will never be dyed by the anarchistic red.”—*July 15.*

“It is superfluous to show to these Populist condottieri who have captured the Democracy a romantic courtesy and good faith which they are incapable of appreciating. Besides, there is no national Democratic party now. There are the elements of it in the several States. There, and without having to kiss the feet of anarchy, Democratic discipline and regularity may be maintained.”—*July 16.*

“Mr. Bryan stands for all three, Repudiation, Robbery, and Revolution.”—*July 18.*

"A Democrat who votes for McKinley votes 'to defeat the anarchists under Bryan's lead.'"—*July 29.*

And yet the New York *Sun*, now devoted to gold monometalism with such vicious vituperation, said on June 13, 1885; "Gold has risen so that the proper way of expressing the truth is to say that the gold dollar is worth 117 cents, while the silver dollar remains at par.

"The prompt adoption of silver as a standard instead of gold would, therefore, arrest the decline in prices to a great extent, and palliate, if it did not cure, the evil of dull trade."

The New York *Herald*, Gold Democrat, says: "The wild Populistic tendency of the silver fanatics at Chicago finds a fresh illustration in the income-tax plank inserted in their platform.

"This is a significant hint of the revolutionary extremes to which these men are prepared to go to accomplish their Populistic purposes."—*July 9.*

"The Democracy of Jefferson, from which have been drawn invariably the ideas which have given political stability and republican enthusiasm of this country, has passed into the control of Jefferson's diametric opposite, the socialist, or communist, or, as he is now known here, the Populist. A shot as dangerous and treasonable as that fired on Sumter in '61 is heard from Chicago. Over-riding the defenders of Democracy and the national honor, the Jacobins of the West and South have raised the flag of silverism, Populism, and communism. These are crimes against the nation, as secession was. They menace national repudiation and dishonor, disaster to business and suffering to the people. They mean an assault upon constitutional government and republican institutions. It is time for all loyal citizens to show themselves true Americans, to place country above all else, and to rally for its flag, its fair fame, and its safety.

"The reckless Jacobins who captured the Chicago Convention have declared their mad determination to force 50 cents upon the people as a dollar.

"AGAINST THIS REVOLUTIONARY DANGER EVERY PATRIOT WHO LOVES HIS COUNTRY MUST COME TO ITS RESCUE."—*July 11.*

The New York *Tribune*, Gold Republican, says: "The anarchists gnash their teeth at the Supreme Court of the United States. Did anybody ever suppose they wouldn't?"—*July 10.*

"William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, the 'Boy Orator,' as his friends delight to call him, is a worthy embodiment of the frantic spirit which produced the Populist movement, has taken the Democratic party by assault, and proposes repudiation and anarchy as medicines for existing ills."—*July 11.*

"It is not a question of war. It is a question of morals, of common honesty. The assault is not upon the Constitution alone, but upon the Ten Commandments, too. The question is not merely whether the nation shall keep faith and pay its debts, but also whether 'Thou shalt not steal' and 'Thou shalt not covet' are still to be deemed as mandates obligatory upon mankind."—*July 12.*

"Wall Street treated the red flag at Chicago in the best possible way, with absolute indifference. It refused to be thrown into hysterics by the 'burn-down-your-cities' platform."—*July 13.*

"The exponents of anarchy and repudiation."—*July 14.*

"Men loud against all forms of power' are busy in many lands. Only a few weeks ago the Shah of Persia was mur-



dered. An anarchist bomb in Spain destroyed several lives, in the sheer wantonness of hatred. Then came renewed plotting against the Emperor of Russia. A week ago a 'National Convention' at Chicago denounced the right of the Government to suppress rioting and to protect property from the spoliation of the mob, and a fortnight hence an international gathering in London will be supplementing the work of that at Chicago with lurid diatribes against all rights of property and hoarse peans in praise of dynamite."—*July 15.*

"The Chicago platform means that the United States Government must under no conditions take action to protect life, to enforce Federal statutes, or even suppress rebellion in any State so long as a weak or corrupt governor fails to ask Federal aid."—*July 17.*

The New York *Evening Post*, Gold Democrat, says: "The anarchist talk at Chicago against the *East maca maha cago* about the 'West and South against the East.'" —*July 9.*

"The Chicago Convention yesterday evolved its chief demagogue in the person of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, who took the mob of repudiators off their feet by a speech of forty-blatherskite power.

"The employer can close his factory when such fellows as Bryan and Altgeld and Tillman frighten capital out of the country. He can wait for better times, but the man who works for wages that the employer can no longer pay, what can he do? Probably Altgeld and Bryan and Tillman would suggest to him to mob the factory, adding that they would not allow anybody to interfere with him."—*July 10.*

"We present in other columns evidences of the Democratic revolt which the Populistic, anarchistic Chicago

platform has already caused. . . . No such collection of inflammatory and reckless men ever put themselves on exhibition in a national convention. Beside them the Populists are lamb-like and the socialists sucking doves. The country has watched their mad proceedings with disgust and shuddering, only impatient for the coming of November to trample on the whole lot of bedlamites and their incendiary doctrines."—*July 10.*

"Thus we have a complete and harmonious scheme of revolution, all the way from the destruction of private property up to the debauching of the public service. The platform is truly all of a piece in its innovating planks. Repudiation goes well with attacks on the courts and contracts, advocacy of riots, and the re-enthronement of the spoils system. Free silver is alone enough to call for the defeat of the Chicago ticket and platform; with lawlessness, anarchy, and the mob in office added, its defeat becomes the paramount duty of every citizen who wishes life and property still to be secure in this country."—*July 16.*

The *New York Times*, Gold Republican, says: "The accounts of the Socialist Congress in London read very much like the proceedings of our own Populists, whether at Chicago or at St. Louis.

"The proceedings of the Congress bear a particular resemblance to the proceedings at Chicago, with this difference, that the Populists at Chicago undoubtedly formed a majority of the convention. They were not a working majority, according to Democratic usage, until they had stolen a State or two, which they did in the most open and high-handed way. It does not appear that the anarchists were anywhere near a majority of the London Congress. But they were noisy enough and impudent enough to prevent the Congress from doing any business. They undertook to capture the convention as Altgeld captures delega-

tions in Illinois, and they succeeded so far that after they were formally excluded they were powerful enough to paralyze the body. The Congress has succeeded in doing nothing at all, whereas the convention succeeded in doing an irreparable deal of mischief.

"Nevertheless, the more or less anarchistic assemblages at Chicago, St. Louis, and London strongly resembled each other."—*August 2.*

The New York *Press*, Gold Republican, says: "Their debauch is ended. The howling horde of fanatics, demagogues, and anarchists at Chicago have looted the Democratic party, rioted in the spoil, raised their abhorrent platform, put their ridiculous candidates on it, and gone home. They have made the issue for an astounded nation.

"It is order against anarchy, government against the mob."—*July 12.*

"The red-eyed anarchists who call a riot a convention. Pfeffer, his [Bryan's] fellow Populist, put the case exactly right when he assured his howling brothers that Bryan 'was too good a Populist to refuse a nomination by a Populist convention.'

"BRYAN, POPULIST! THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL ATTEND TO HIM. WHEN THEIR STOMACHS RECOVER FROM DISGUST THEY WILL PROCEED TO STAMP THE LIFE OUT OF THE BRYAN-POPULIST VERMIN."—*July 26.*

The New York *Mail and Express*, Gold Republican, says: "Every enemy of the Ten Commandments, and especially of the injunction, 'Thou shalt not steal!'—every red-eyed anarchist and beer-besotted socialist, every one of that numerous class which lives by vice and constantly presses against the barrier of law, every agitator who thinks

he would find a chance for himself in a general wreck of society—in a word, every parasite of civilization and doubtful and dangerous character in our thickly settled East is for Bryan, ruin, and chaos, first and last and all the time.”—*July 30.*

The Harrisburg (Pa.) *Daily Telegraph* says: “The wretch who tries to arraign the poor man against the rich man is a menace to the community. The poor man’s dollar is just as much imperiled by the assaults of the free-silver crazy anarchist as the dollar of the rich man, and the poor man knows this. Why seek to excite him against his best interests? The man who does it is a villain.”—*July 31.*

The San Francisco *Chronicle* says: “The cave of Adulam had in it every one that was in distress, every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented. But the cave of Populist-Democracy, besides all these, has gathered in every one that is insane and every one who has a grudge against public order and every one who has a new political philosophy.”—*July 29.*

The New Orleans *Picayune*, Gold Democrat, says: “The Presidential prospect is that either the Government of the United States will be seized by the hands of a wild and revolutionary horde of radical silverites and financial fanatics, or it will fall into the keeping of a party which will not be able to control Congress or to work out any theories, be they good or bad, of money and public finances.”—*July 29.*

The Philadelphia *Times* says: “The issue is presented in the clearest terms to the people of the United States, and the decision to be rendered must determine whether the great free government of the world can maintain its

faith and protect its people against the repudiation and revolutionary elements of the land."—*July 27.*

The Philadelphia *Inquirer* says: "Henceforth Democracy means national dishonor, private robbery, the exaltation of anarchy, the confiscation of property, and the damnation of the Constitution."—*July 30.*

The Indianapolis *Journal*, Gold Republican, says: "The menace of anarchism in the Chicago platform should not be overshadowed by the Silver Trust's scheme of repudiation."—*July 31.*

"The impression gains ground that the Chicago platform is a greater menace to the country than the Populist, which simply stands for repudiation."—*July 31.*

The New Haven *Evening Leader* says: "There is no longer a Democratic party. The Populist anaconda crushed its horns and bones into an indistinguishable mass of pulp at Chicago and swallowed it whole. It is now undergoing indecision in a stomach of vast elasticity and capacity."

"With his double-headed Vice-President team, backed by the plutocratic mine owners of Colorado, Montana, and Utah, arranging for an overthrow and destruction of the credit and honor of the United States Government and the inauguration of a reign of repudiation, panic, bankruptcy, and ruin."—*July 30.*

The New Haven *Morning Journal and Courier* says: "Bryan is the advance agent of pandemonium and bankruptcy."—*July 25.*

The Cleveland *Leader* says: "No wonder people shuddered at the nomination of Bryan for President of a country like this. He is simply the 'Dusty Roads' and 'Weary Willie' of American politics."—*July 26.*

The *Chicago Chronicle*, Gold Democrat, says: "But for the nondescript agglomeration which met at the Coliseum at Chicago on July 7 there is no possible warrant in assuming the title 'Democratic.' . . . 'Bryan, the commoner,' is what his journalistic admirers are calling him now, and he is certainly not uncommon, either in intelligence or ability."—*July 27.*

"Agreeing upon nothing except a common desire for plunder, its members are wrangling among themselves over the division of the prospective booty. Faction is belaboring faction, rival leaders are at daggers' points, camp followers are looting the commissariat. By November nothing will be left but a disorganized mob, which will have vanished altogether the morning following election day."—*July 21.*

The *Chicago Times-Herald*, Gold Republican, says: "The cohesive power of a desire for public plunder was never better illustrated than in the welding of Popocrats and Populists."—*July 26.*

The Providence (R. I.) *Telegram* says: "Everybody ought to know by this time that half the sensational quotations which the silver orators make are either distorted or forgeries. They quote Lincoln, for instance, as saying things he never said, and the story goes along and along, and the contradiction never catches it. No story is too absurd to be swallowed by some of these silver devotees, and no falsehood too plainly exposed not to be repeated by them. We wonder sometimes if the men who believe in sound money and are now pretending to swallow the Chicago platform, swallowed all these lies at the same time."—*July 31.*

The *Wall Street Daily News* says: "The silver lunacy,

in alliance with all the forces of communism and anarchy, has broken through all the barriers of party principle and tradition, invaded and subjugated a dominant faction of the Democratic party, and has now taken the open field to fight for the possession of the Government. With all the elements of lawlessness and disorder at its back, it has thrown down the challenge of defiance to that grand standing army of the Republic, the honest, intelligent, and patriotic commonality of America.

"It is sincerely to be hoped that as the result of that contest the silver conspiracy will be not simply scotched, but utterly crushed."—*August 10.*

An incident as reported in the *New York Tribune*: "The revolt of Democrats in the financial community against the Chicago platform and ticket is complete. It found expression yesterday in a remarkable demonstration on the Stock Exchange. Soon after the opening of the exchange for business at 10 o'clock, Isidor Wormser, a life-long Democrat, who repudiated the work at Chicago and who four years ago was a Cleveland elector, appeared on the floor and proposed a rally for the American flag. Richard H. Halsted procured a large flag, and a procession was at once formed. There were four hundred in it, and one hundred and fifty of these were Democrats. Charles E. Quincy had a supply of McKinley buttons, and every Democrat put one in his button-hole. The ground was yellow silk, to represent gold. In the center was a shield containing the American colors to represent protection. Above the shield was the name McKinley and below it the name Hobart. On one side of the shield were the figures 18 and on the other 96.

"The procession moved around the big room several times, shouting for McKinley and gold, and finally Mr. Halsted, who carried the flag, halted in front of the

rostrum, and the line broke ranks and crowded around him. Then three times three were given with a will, and the crowd in the gallery joined in. It was the most enthusiastic scene ever witnessed on the exchange. The cheers were followed by cries of 'The American flag against the red flag!' This cry became a slogan at once, and was supplemented with another cry, 'Down with anarchy!' During the parade business was entirely suspended, and the officers of the exchange, being in sympathy with the display of patriotism, made no effort to check it."—*July 14.*

The London (England) *Saturday Review* says: "It is the first time in the history of the English-speaking race that precisely such a body has been got together. For any kind of a parallel, indeed, one must look to the conventions, constituent assemblies, and other strange mobs of parliamentary partisans which Paris witnessed in the last decade of the eighteenth century, rather than to Anglo-Saxon precedents. The original Democratic party of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe professedly drew its inspiration and borrowed its ideals from the first French Republic. It is interesting to find the same party a hundred years later, in a period of violent internal convulsion, exhibiting this same impulse to think and talk like the men of the French Revolution. The difference is that Jefferson and his friends were at the worst but mild imitators of the Gironde; the leaders of to-day—Governor Altgeld, Governor Boies, and the rest—belong to the Mountain."—*July 4.*

The Toronto (Canada) *World* says: "From one point of view we are somewhat pleased with the Democrats of the United States. That party contains the scum of the nation, and the recent Chicago Convention has fully established the truth that underlies the celebrated American



epigram which points out that while every Democrat may not be a horse-thief, every horse-thief is a Democrat. We are somewhat pleased, we say, at the recent demonstration of this horse-thief and repudiationist party. This time their dishonesty and thievish intentions are directed against the United States. Great Britain need no longer lose any sleep over the threats of Americans. They carry within themselves the germs of self-destruction. The Republic is honeycombed with pestilential microbes. The nation that is in cold blood debating whether or not it will pay its just obligations is pretty far advanced in decline. While the demand of the silverites may be turned aside this time, we may rest assured that the horse-thief party will keep at it until they have consummated the villainy they have in view. Let us no longer lose any sleep over the threats of the United States. They are themselves on the verge of disruption. Within twenty years we may see the octopus split up into two or even three republics, and then there will be so much fighting between themselves they will have no desire to twist the lion's tail or infuriate the Canadian beaver."—*July 13.*

The campaign orator, "E. Ellery Anderson, ex-president of the New York Reform Club, a Wall Street Democrat, and presumably a well-meaning gentleman, sent a message to the *New York Journal* to the effect that Bryan is a revolutionist and his followers are no better. 'We want them with red flags,' says Mr. Anderson, 'so that there will be provocation for shooting them down.'

"A great political party, with an honorable record of a hundred years, pronounces in favor of the money of the Constitution and against the abuse of centralized power, and these Eastern Wall Street mouthpieces denounce it as 'a horde of anarchists.' Their organs teem with such epithets as 'political charlatans, repudiationists, anar-

chists, socialists, communists, ignorant mob, pirates, free-booters, demagogues, criminals.'

"Men who are obliged to resort to epithets and hysterical screeches confess that they have no case. This sort of talk hurts no one but those who indulge in it. No one is deceived by it, and its only effect is to make them ridiculous."

SOME COERCIONS THAT WILL NOT COERCE THE COMMONERS OF THIS COUNTRY ARE AS FREE AS IN 1876—  
THE LASH AND THE ROD HAVE LOST THEIR TERRORS  
IN A FREE COUNTRY.

Iron mines in the Gogebic Range are shut down as an example to free-coinage laborers.

Lawson N. Fuller, general counsel for the Manhattan Elevated Railroad, says: "If Bryan is elected President, the Manhattan Company will positively refuse to extend its lines a single rod. If McKinley is successful we will extend."

Contractors in Chicago will not put up a public-school building unless they are paid in gold—evidence enough that the back of the 200-cent dollar must be broken.

#### A CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION.

In a political struggle so unmistakably between "the masses and the classes," as is the present one, says the *New York News*, "it is not surprising that every influence that can be exerted by means of wage-paying, appealing to ignorance, offering rewards and threatening resentment, is used by those upon whom fortune has conferred large means, which they hope to make larger. Especially by corporations, where individual responsibility is so conveniently hidden, are such exertions put forth. Everywhere

we have the rich endeavoring to deceive the poor, and the well-worn fraud of the 'silver dollar worth 50 cents,' though exposed ten thousand times, does perpetual duty shamelessly and figures in every newspaper as an argument. Compulsion is on every hand and in every shape.

"One day the railroads refuse to make reduced rates for Democratic gatherings. The next, life-insurance companies issue to their policy-holders campaign literature urging on the latter the falsehood that the value of policies will be diminished one-half by Democratic success, and thereby proclaiming themselves insolvent to accomplish a partisan object. The day after comes a meeting of the clerks and employees of some banking house, who unanimously (upon penalty of discharge if dissenting) indorse McKinley and Hobart. Then follows the eviction of a workingman for nonconformity with his employer on the silver question. Next the shutting up of an iron mine and the throwing of thousands out of employment under false pretense of apprehension of diminishing profits. Clergymen are compelled to preach partisan sermons under threat of reduction of salary, and cooks' and housemaids' wages are retrenched because 'we are all coming to a silver basis.' A Railroad Men's Sound Money Club is to be organized among those who receive wages from every transportation company, and the prediction is made that the compulsory votes of these clubbites will, in some States, carry counties.

"This is a tremendous power for the Democracy to encounter. It controls the timid and those incapable of reasoning, and it should correspondingly arouse the patriotic and energetic. It is clear that a campaign of lies is to be anticipated, and that every perversion of truth will be welcomed by our adversaries and inflicted by them upon their dupes. It is in this regard that the late beginning of the campaign is to be deplored. The Republicans put forward their candidates far in advance of us, and

the difference which has been paid to Democratic bolters in conveniently adjourning over State conventions until the gold programme should be developed and matured has aggravated the loss of time. This week, it is to be hoped, will see the organization of the Democratic National Committee, the appointment of the Campaign Committee, and the formal initiation of the contest. A bold front must be taken as to this intimidation policy of the McKinley managers without further delay."

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MONOPOLISTIC PRESS.

'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you; and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. . . . Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just and he doth not resist you.'—*James v.*, 1-16.

SENATOR STEWART in the United States Senate, on March 13, 1894, made the following deliberate statement that should arrest the attention of every freeman in America: "I am informed on reliable authority that every great daily journal in Europe is either owned or controlled by the bankers and money lenders of Europe, and, if it could be known in this country, you will find that the great journals here are controlled or owned by the same interests."

John Swinton, the veteran war correspondent and writer on the *Sun*, in addressing the Press Club, made the sensation of the day by his bold and unrefuted admissions as follows:

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press, unless it is out in the country towns. You are all slaves. You know it and I know it. There is not one of

you that dares express an honest opinion. If you express it, you know beforehand that it will never appear in print. I am paid \$150 per week for keeping honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. Others of you are paid similar salaries for doing similar things. If I should allow honest opinions to be printed in one issue of my paper, like Othello, before twenty-four hours my occupation would be gone. The man who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the street hunting for another job. The business of a New York journalist is to distort the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread, or for what is about the same thing, his salary. You know this and I know it; and what foolery to be boasting of an independent press! We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping-jacks. They pull the string and we dance. Our time, our talents, our lives, our possibilities are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

## CHAPTER IV.

THE ENEMIES OF THE GOVERNMENT WHO ARE THE  
ANARCHISTS?

"The poor man who takes property by force is called a thief, but the creditor who can by legislation make a debtor pay a dollar twice as large as he borrowed is lauded as the friend of a sound currency. The man who wants the people to destroy the Government is an anarchist, but the man who wants the Government to destroy the people is a patriot."—*William J. Bryan.*

Two parties, one old and great, the other new out terribly in earnest, and both together representing a majority of the voters at the last Presidential election, says the *New York World*, "are not made up of socialists, anarchists, or lunatics. They would not thus agree in denouncing injustice and wrong in the Government without some substantial basis of truth for their complaint.

"The Populists affirm their 'allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic.' They declare that important functions of the Government 'have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies.' They insist that 'the influence of money-changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the people.' They charge that plutocracy has superseded democracy.

"Making due allowance for heated campaign exaggeration, are these allegations wholly without reason? Are not the equal rights of equal citizens as ordained by the fathers practically nullified for the mass when money decides elections, when individual opportunity is destroyed by

corporate monopoly, when Federal taxes are levied almost wholly upon the consumption of common necessities and not at all upon accumulated wealth? When a tariff bill is openly written by the representatives of allied trusts in return for campaign contributions and for the exaction of new bounties from the people, is not the taxing power surrendered to private greed? When large issues of government bonds, forced by a conspiracy of money-changers, are secretly sold to a bankers' syndicate for millions of dollars less than their value, and the spectacle is again presented to-day of the nation's Treasury dependent on the favor of a lord protector in Wall Street, is not the indictment at St. Louis in a large measure justified?"

#### WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

"Any party or part of a party declaring for the policy of the contractionists is an enemy, not only of the great producing classes, but of the Constitution itself," says the *Farm, Field and Fireside*. "Also traitors to the party policy as declared by its founders and old-time leaders and statesmen.

"On this subject the greatest of constitutional lawyers, Daniel Webster, said:

"I am certainly of the opinion that gold and silver at rates fixed by Congress constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard."

"James G. Blaine, in commenting on this declaration of Webster's in a speech in Congress, said:

"Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no power to demonetize either any more than to demonetize both. In this statement I am but repeating the weighty dictum of the first constitutional lawyer, Daniel Webster."



"Lincoln and Chase were the fathers of the greenback, which the gold contractionists would destroy and substitute bank-notes therefor.

"Thad. Stevens, John A. Logan, and other Republican leaders of their time were most emphatic against contraction or for paying in coin what was contracted to be paid in paper money.

"Blaine, Garfield, Plumb, and many other noted old-time Republicans were equally emphatic against contracting redemption money to gold alone.

"Many of the leading lights of the Democratic party were equally outspoken. The party or wing of a party, therefore, which declares for a gold standard is the traitor, and not those who seek to uphold the equity of our currency by voting and working for the only means by which the industrial classes may be protected from their enemies."

When the bankers have no fear of a discontinuance of a gold standard, they force a bond issue and clear \$8,000,000 at a stroke.

When the bankers see their golden sun going down behind the dark cloud of the people's wrath, they tremble, and forthwith they become patriots and save the financial integrity of the nation with loud clamor and patriotic display. However grateful the people may be for a glass of water in famine, they remember the cause of the distress abroad in the land.

#### WALL STREET HUMBUGGING THE PEOPLE.

"The fraudulent pretenses by which that small and select class of the community whose self-interest attaches them to the single gold standard of money are attempting, at this crisis, to delude and deceive the masses of the people, are revealed every day. Their purpose is so transparent," says the *New York News*, "as to be easily seen

through. Let us, for instance, consider silver coinage for a moment, in connection with the recent voluntary bank deposits of gold in the Subtreasury.

"The chief pretense which is put forward in all the pompous interviews given to the press by bank presidents and other capitalists is that the coinage of the silver dollar will reduce the purchasing power of the dollar and rob the poor. This is an argument thrown at the wage-earning classes at every corner, dinned into their ears through a thousand capitalist channels, and elaborated through the newspaper press by armies of hired penmen. And yet the bankers of New York, on a single afternoon, club together and subscribe twenty millions of gold coin, and sell and deliver it to Uncle Sam in exchange for his greenbacks.

"They have so much real faith and confidence in the stability of American currency that they know their twenty millions of gold coin are not going to be lost nor depreciated, and that Uncle Sam's paper is good and going to be good for every penny of it.

"They did not even ask for "fifty-cent" dollars for their gold; they sold it for government paper—greenbacks. They took Uncle Sam's paper promises to pay them \$20,000,000, and then they turn round and say that the minting of silver dollars will reduce all Uncle Sam's money one-half in commercial value, except gold.

"They must think the American public is easily humbugged."

The *Kansas City Times* says: "It may as well be understood first as last that the free-silver movement, whether right or wrong, a mistake or a cure, is a movement in behalf of humanity; that it includes in its following a large majority of the farmers and countrymen of the land, who carry in their breasts the greater part of the honesty, civic virtue, and patriotism of this republic. Those who would

denounce such men as anarchists or repudiationists simply argue themselves either fools or worse."

Justice Brown, of the Supreme Bench, stated in the forum last August: "Universal suffrage, which it was confidently supposed would inure to the benefit of the poor man, is so skilfully manipulated as to rivet his chains and to secure to the rich one a predominance in politics he had never enjoyed under a restricted system. Probably in no country in the world is the influence of wealth more potent than in this, and in no period of our history has it been more powerful than now."

The Knoxville *Tribune* says that "if Daniel Webster was right when he declared that 'no nation can long remain free where the tendencies of the laws is to concentrate the wealth in the hands of the few,' then is it not high time that the people of this country, who are the natural and rightful source of power, were taking decisive steps toward checking the unmistakable encroachment upon their freedom? There must be a beginning, and the signs of the times indicate that the people have determined to make a beginning, already too long delayed."

"The fact is history, science, justice, honor and everything which it is safe to lean upon are arrayed in opposition to the domination of the world by gold, and the cause is bound to win because it is scientifically right."

Ex-Senator Patrick Walsh, of Georgia, says: "This vital question of the currency is the paramount issue. In it is involved the prosperity and liberty of the American people. It threatens the stability and perpetuity of Republican government. It is no exaggeration of the gravity of the situation to say that a question of greater moment never confronted the American people. It deserves the

earnest and prayerful consideration of every lover of his country. Passion and prejudice should have no place in the discussion. The question should be presented in the most intelligent and conservative manner and settled in the way that will conserve the interests of the millions who labor and cultivate the soil and advance and protect at all times the honor and welfare of the Republic."

James G. Blaine, to the Senate in 1880, said: "I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution; indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which the great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize either. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. IF ITS COINAGE HAS BEEN PROHIBITED, I AM IN FAVOR OF ORDERING IT TO BE RESUMED. I AM IN FAVOR OF HAVING IT ENLARGED."

Was James G. Blaine an anarchist and revolutionist?

In the same speech, he said: "I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world.

"The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect upon all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. Those would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly \$7,000,000,000 of coin or bullion in the world, very equally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike

silver out of existence as money without results that will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands."

In 1843 Leon Fouchet, the celebrated French economist, in a calm, scientific work entitled: "Researches Concerning Gold and Silver," said: "The government cannot decree that legal tender shall be only gold in place of (gold and) silver, for that would be to decree a revolution and the most dangerous of all, because it would be a revolution that would plunge us into the unknown."

M. Wolowski, one of the foremost economists of France, addressing the institute of France in 1868, said: "The suppression of silver would bring on a veritable revolution. Gold would augment in value with a rapid and constant progress which would break the faith of contracts and aggravate the situation of all debtors, including the nation. It would at one stroke of the pen add at least three milliards to the twelve milliards (francs) of the public debt."

These views were held by Fouchet, Goschen, the Baring, Rothschilds, Lord Beaconsfield, the London economist, and with but rare exceptions by all the leading statesmen of Europe.

It is now just as firmly believed by all members of the genuine Democracy, broadly including the South and West and the awakening commoners of America. These are not the anarchists.

The statesmen who have abandoned the cause of bimetallism and who are now advocates of the single gold standard—who speak of the prosperity of the country and the high wages paid to laborers, are culpably ignorant of the sad condition of the cotton planters, the great majority of whom were never so poor, never so financially embarrassed. On account of the absence of money, the farmers in many

sections have been compelled to return to barter and trade. While cabinet orators and Democratic congressmen, who sing the same song, are loudly proclaiming that money was never more cheap nor abundant, the currency in some counties of Georgia is chickens, butter, eggs and garden products.

“Liberty cannot long endure,” says Webster, “in any country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few.”

No one, we believe, will question that this is the tendency of the prevailing condition and should the existing gold standard become permanently fixed upon this country this serious result, apprehended by this great statesman, will follow as surely as night follows day.

With the decision of this all important question is involved the issue whether we and our children shall be prosperous and free, or whether the producing classes shall be impoverished slaves to the despotic, heartless money power; free in name only, but in fact, through the operation of a vicious financial system, compelled to support in luxury a large and growing class of parasites who live upon the products of our labor.

## CHAPTER V.

## GOLD-STANDARD POLITICS.

A prophecy by Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, Republican candidate for Governor of Michigan: "It is my platform that the people should have what they want. There should be no selfish syndicates in politics any more than trusts or monopolies in the financial world. The man who will be elected this year is the one who is willing to trust the common people."

THIS cannot mean the syndicate managers of the Republican party, whose wealth represents more than a *billion* dollars."

The financial committees selected to run the gold-standard campaign are composed of men owning in their own right more than \$1,000,000,000. In the committee named to carry New York, of those who are multi-millionaires, are sixteen bankers, eleven wholesale merchants, six railroad magnates, and five manufacturers. Of the eighty-one on the committee nearly every one is a heavy owner of bonds and bank stocks.

THE GOLD-STANDARD POLITICAL SYNDICATE AND AMERICAN  
LABOR.

*Scene—Waldorf.*

*Reporter—*Do you expect to elect McKinley, Mr. Hanna?

*Hanna—*McKinley will be the next President. If we can't win one way we will another.

As ruthless in politics as in business; as careless of public as of private right, by fair means or foul, by hook or by crook, Mark Hanna wages his war and proposes to land his man.

It is well to know these things, and a world honestly, about its destiny is grateful to Hanna for the black warning of his words. Nor does a world despair. Wrong does not always win; right is now and then the victor, and Satan has received a setback before now. Were a prophet in our midst to-day he would tell our red-faced Lochiel that McKinley is to pluck defeat; and in his overthrow Hanna himself is to be crushed for the spider of politics that he is.

This is a letter to workingmen. Their foe is in the open ground. Their warmest enemy, Hanna, a man who, for thirty years, has torn at the flanks of labor like a wolf, is in command. The field is stricken. By the preense and open-eyed maneuverings of money itself, this is a war waged by the rich on the poor; wealth against perishing flesh and blood. The issue isn't so much finance. The questions truly at bay are: Shall the many moil and toil and sweat for a few? Shall leeches suck blood? Shall widows' houses be devoured? Shall a nation become prey and spoil to a syndicate? Shall the Pharisees sit in the high places? Shall the money-changers again occupy the temple? Shall there be a second crucifixion? Shall government of the people, by the people, for the people, perish from the earth? If the workmen of the country fail at this crisis to successfully conserve their own, they deserve the fetters now forging for them. If the commons of America cannot buckler against attack, that war-won freedom the fathers of the nation passed down to them, their feebleness merits its loss. If institutions which a Washington founded and a Grant defended are to become finally the footstool of a Hanna, the time has ripely arrived to find it out.

McKinley is of no present or future consequence. Hanna is casting the shadow in this campaign. The candidate is swallowed by the manager. The Canton mute is merely a syndicate's entry for the White House stakes. McKinley



may be successful, but he cannot win. The syndicate wins. Hanna wins. McKinley may finish first in the race. But the syndicate which groomed him, which drove him, which put up entrance money and paid stable charges, will pocket the prize. Make the voiceless man of Canton President and he will occupy the White House only as the steward of a ring. He will hold his office as the trustee of a coterie. He will dispense its patronage and perform its functions at the will and word of Hanna, and to the sole end that the members of that syndicate which invested its millions in the capture of the place may in honors and money-profits gain those rewards for which the whole piracy was planned. In such a contest, having such an original, conducted by such methods, for such black purposes, and all beneath the domineering eye and thumb of Hanna, the sole inquiry is, "Hanna?"

What is he? Who is he? How has his past gone? Tell us of his deeds. Hanna is the substance of the situation. McKinley is nothing but a name. It is 16 of Hanna to 1 of Canton candidate. The syndicate is in the saddle, the candidate is beneath it, with the syndicate bit in his mouth and the syndicate spur in his quarter.

## II.

What is the matter with this simile? Why should its accurate excellence be impugned or its generosity inveighed against? They have bought McKinley—bought and paid for him like a horse—this syndicate. They have housed and fed and financed him for five long years to ride him to the White House in 1896.

They were brought to extraordinary expenditure, to an unanticipated outlay, and forced to wipe him free of the mud and stains of the Walker failure in 1893. Out of the unexpected came \$118,000 of McKinley's notes of hand to raven and to rend him. What was a syndicate already

afloat with its enterprise to do? It must pay them; and it did.

And as this is read let Hanna answer for the whereabouts of those \$118,000 worth of notes. Where are they? Safe in the clutch of the syndicate that paid the money and took them up. Safe in the vaults of the savings bank of Cleveland, Ohio, the business home of Herrick, the treasurer of the syndicate, and incidentally that scheming body's money headquarters.

Were the notes destroyed? No. Were they given to McKinley by those sons of craft and thirty millions who paid them up and took their candidate out of the claws of his creditors? No. The notes were not destroyed; they were not given to McKinley; they were preserved and exist to-day that syndicate's title deeds to the candidate whose fight they furnish and whose fortunes they pretend to push while simply fostering their own.

Those notes, \$118,000, are in force, overdue and unpaid. They could blossom to a judgment in any court in the land. They could to-day inspire a suit and put wings to process against this candidate whom the ring about him assumes to love so much. By the power of those notes of hand they now put words in McKinley's mouth, or strike him dumb. By their sway they build a platform and he steps upon it. McKinley is held in thrall and bond.

Free, he was for silver and his record is a record of silver. Bound and bought and owned he is for gold. He is for nothing, for anything; [he is here or there; he is silent or finds his voice at the orders of the syndicate.

Isn't it a dainty candidatorial dish to set before a king—before the voters and kings of America? And what a proud day would dawn for the country when it inaugurated a president at the mercy of the ring that girt him round!

Why don't they give the man his notes? Why are these \$118,000 worth of paper slips so put to sleep in the vaults

of the syndicate? Is it for McKinley's good or Hanna's good that this debt of \$118,000 is thus maintained a living, breathing, thing of law? Is a country to be better served while a syndicate holds such a gun and a president is such a target?

There has been much to say of Bryan's youth. It had been better if McKinley were as young. His superiority of years has only served to put his hand in the lion's mouth of Hanna and make him the chattel of a money huddle, of which Hanna is director. Bryan is at least free. And a public might better and more wisely go with its interests to a free man, however young, than intrust its destinies to a captive, however old.

Let us bend to the lesson of Hanna. There is but one Allah and Mohammed is his prophet; but one syndicate, and Hanna is its dictator. Who, therefore, is Hanna?

One glance at him betrays his sort. There is violence in his coarse, ruddy face. There is avarice in his weazel eye, a money fierceness, just as one reads the lust of blood in the lambent ferocity that glows in the eye of a ferret. He is a gross man, and runs to flesh like a draught horse. Standing five feet nine inches, Hanna weighs two hundred and forty pounds. From the size of his collar and size of his hat one might conclude that Hanna was perhaps the man ordinary. This would be grievous error. He has force; he has brains; he has persistency that never falters, nerves that never flinch. Hanna has courage of the sort that goes with cruelty. He was born for tyranny, for rapacity without ruth and with a money appetite that is bass-like in its voracity.

Hanna is an egotist, and is never to think, never to suffer for others. This shone forth a ray of brilliant selfishness in the war-rung sixties. Hanna was twenty-three when the war broke out, and without wife or child to win him to his home. Did he go? He never thought of it, and

others might march southward and waste their blood and health, and lay their final bones on southern battlefields. They were the fools of the world to men of the Hanna kind of wisdom. He knew better than battle; he would stay behind and be rich. While others did his fighting, Hanna, in a safe place, piled up dollars for himself. Yet Hanna has courage; he did not fail the war for lack of heart. He preferred peace and an easy plenty because he loves himself much and the public little. It is a notable fact that men capable of being millionaires, whether the millions are gotten or still to get, go seldom or never to war. The Vanderbilts, the Astors, the Goulds, the Russell Sages and the Mark Hannas have no military tastes, no battle records live in the annals of their houses.

### III.

Above it was said that this is written to workingmen. It is. There are those who labor with their hands and win their bread with the sweat in their eyes who do not know Hanna. There are others of this back-bent, toil-bitten description who know him sadly enough. In the starved coal fields of Spring Valley they know him. In the Michigan mines, in every half-paid forecastle of the great lakes, in the coal holes of Ohio and Pennsylvania, wherever coal is dug and iron molded and oil is pumped; on the street car lines of Cleveland; in all these places, and many a dark corner besides, where labor is robbed, they know Mark Hanna. And the mention of his name is the signal for such a cloud of frowns, such a storm of curses, as publish him what he is—the oppressor without mercy of every man on his multiplied payrolls. Do you know where Goldsmith says:

“For him no wretches born to work and weep,  
Explore the mine or tempt the dangerous deep.  
No surly porter stands in guilty state  
To spurn imploring Famine from his gate.”

Hanna is the exact opposite of Goldsmith's parson. He is everything the village preacher wasn't.

Hanna was born in 1837; just a shaving less than sixty years of age is Hanna. He was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, in the State where he now lives. His father was a Leonard Hanna and by profession a doctor.

It would seem that Dr. Leonard Hanna was not in the business of balsam and bandages from any love of his fellows or riotous taste for a public's health. He distinctly longed for dollars. And whether the sturdy brood of citizens about him were of too rugged a condition to permit bills to pay, or what the reason, Dr Leonard Hanna at an early day lapsed into keeping a country store. And he kept it well, and as it flourished his profits swelled.

Mark Hanna was not the only son. There were at least three others. It is said that they were remarkable as men of refinement and elevation; something those who have met the present Hanna will find hard of belief.

Mark Hanna was at common school; then briefly at the Western Reserve College. This latter temple of learning only detained him a year. He might have stayed longer, but he was impatient to plunge into business. He was thirsty to drink dollars for himself.

It was in 1852 the other Hanna invaded Cleveland; a mere village then camped on the banks of the crooked river which gave it first existence. The Hannas opened a wholesale grocery store. As soon as the younger Hanna was old enough to keep an account against his fellow man and push resolutely for its collection he joined his father in the grocery. This was in 1857. Hanna was twenty and as famished to make a dollar at the age boys usually prefer to spend one as he has ever proved since.

Hanna was twenty-three when Fort Sumter fell.

While others rushed about the tall standard of their country to save it, Hanna stayed indomitably at home. And he thriftily took Government contracts of the coal and iron kind, and so in that dark cannon-shaken hour of the nation's peril Hanna filled his pockets while others emptied their veins. Such lack of patriotic purpose, such love of self and pelf had their reward. Hanna is worth over \$20,000,000.

In 1864 Hanna carried to the altar the daughter of Daniel P. Rhodes, himself a coal prince and the founder of the "D. P. Rhodes Coal Company." The old man is gone, and the concern to-day is the Mark Hanna Coal Company.

From groceries to coal, and from coal to every other fashion of money trapping went Mark Hanna. There are two sorts of business men. One is a hunter, stark and bold, who seeks his profit at noon and by direct approach, winning, when he does win, by dint of personal skill and strength in his employment. Such never grow rich. There are others, shy, furtive, not lacking courage, but strong most in a foxy cunning, who are the trappers of trade. They set money traps, and then go about skinning their game.

Such as the last is Hanna. He wins his wealth by indirection. He has the sordid instinct that points the hidden dollar in some covert of trade, as a setter points a bird. Hanna can take a dollar, make it into a money trap, and catch a dime with it. He can set and attend to millions of these dollar traps at once. And the decoyed dimes caught by these dollar traps to die for Hanna are as the sands of the sea every year. That's how, in thirty years, Hanna heaps up almost as many millions.

Hanna not only succeeded to the Leonard-Hanna grocery and the D. P. Rhodes Coal Company, but he organized the Buckeye Oil Company, the Union National

Bank and the Woodland Avenue and the West Side street car lines of Cleveland, Ohio. Hanna owns iron, copper and coal mines in Michigan, coal mines in Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania. He has fleets of vessels on the great lakes carrying coal up the lakes and iron ore down. He has ship yards and builds his own boats. He has interests of all kinds scattered from Duluth to New York; from the Pictured Rocks to the Thousand Islands, with business offices and headquarters in every city, on either shore of all the lakes.

Hanna is the dominant spirit of every enterprise he is involved in. He controls or he gets out. Worth twenty millions personally, he decides the policy of ten times as much, and can march two hundred millions of capital upon any battlefield of business to be as absolutely at his beck and order as an army to the baton of its commander-in-chief. This makes a power of Hanna, even without a courage that never pales and a heart as hard and cold as hail, and as remorseless.

#### IV.

Hanna in his enterprises employs thousands of men. He has fought strikes and lockouts with every one of them. There is not a man at work for Hanna to-day who doesn't hate him with a heart of fire. Why? Because he feeds on them, devours them at every chance. Those twenty millions of his are 95 per cent. the veriest pillage of labor. Hanna lives and waxes fat to-day, the best specimen of the modern anthropophagi.

Hanna's first labor war of worth and weight was with the Seamen's Union of the Great Lakes. I've told the story before. The battle began in 1882. It lasted four bitter years. Hanna had a thug named Rumsey, a professional pugilist, and of morals and mentality to match his sort and

kind. Hanna had Rumsey placed on the police force of Cleveland. Rumsey had been one of Hanna's sailors.

Then Hanna caused the Police Board to construct on the Cleveland force a "river squad," with Rumsey, the thug, as prime spirit.

Hanna was now ready, and he pulled on his war with the poor sailor folk. They were getting \$2.25 a day in summer and \$4 in November and December. Hanna cut them at a slash to \$1 a day in summer and \$2.25 in November and December.

For four years the battle between the sailors and Hanna staggered on. Rumsey and his under thugs did the dirty work. They thumped, gouged, mauled, and pounded and man-handled every union sailor whom they found alone on the Cleveland docks. They sent them by cart loads to the Central Police Station, where they were promptly released by Updegraff, a judge who had some human instincts. And Hanna paid the Rumsey thugs the wage and hire of their brutality.

In four years Hanna with his Rumsey cohorts had beaten the sailors' union to death. It has gone now for good. Hanna had his cruel way. To-day, even with those benefits of "protection" about which the ring-directed, note-threatened McKinley has so much to say, all that Hanna's sailors get is \$15 to \$35 a month, where before they received from \$60 to \$70.

Hanna boasts that since 1884, when his final triumph over the Seamen's Union came and the organization lay in blood dabbled death at his feet, he and his fellow money-ites who were in the cruel conspiracy with him—the Chamberlains, the Minches and the Alvah Bradleys—have as direct profits of their victory made over \$10,000,000. How many women and children, the wives and little ones of his sailors, this should have honestly fed and clothed, are questions which never rap at the Hanna heart for



answer. He has natural bars against any such inroad on his sensibilities.

As a sweet bone to a good dog, Hanna rewarded Rumsey for his thug work by sending that satellite on a vacation trip around the world.

In a former article on the crushing of the Seamen's Union by Hanna I told men to ask the particulars of Peter Lynch, who was at the hour of its defeat the president of that body. It would be useless, as I have learned. To stop his mouth Hanna had Peter Lynch appointed in some small capacity about the Cleveland post office. Hutchins, whom Cleveland named Postmaster, a politician rather than a Democrat, inspired by the fisherman of Buzzard's Bay, is out for McKinley. He is to-day Hanna's man. And Peter Lynch, once reputably the leader of the lake sailors of Cleveland, is a Hutchins-Hanna henchman.

Lynch must hold his place. He will say nothing now of those bitter years in the eighties, when Hanna ground him and his sailors beneath the millstone of his hard rapacity.

But while Lynch may be made to forget a wrong with the present of a lackey place, there are others with warmer memories. When Hanna went to St. Louis to work out the programme of the syndicate and spring a bribe-trap on a nomination, the Central Labor Union of Cleveland sent Tom Carter a list of questions, including the following:

"Is it not a fact that Mark Hanna, manager of William McKinley, candidate for President, employed the notorious A. B. Rumsey to disrupt and crush the Seamen's Union of the lower lakes, and further, did not Mark Hanna, in acknowledgement of Rumsey's services send him on a trip around the world?

"Second—Is it not a fact that Mark Hanna, professional hater of organized labor, disorganized the mine workers of Pennsylvania?

“Third—Was it not through Mark Hanna’s efforts that the street car men’s organization of Cleveland was totally annihilated? And even to-day does he not deny his employees the right to attach themselves to a labor organization?”

These and other queries were put by the Central Labor Union and never answered.

Only the other day, Hanna, who now seeks to cajole a labor element he was wont to cudgel until its blood dripped, sent for Peter Witt, the head of the Cleveland Central Labor Union and business agent of the Iron Moulders’ Union. Hanna said he wanted to explain his past and announce his pure, new and milk-white position toward labor.

Witt wouldn’t go near him. A thirty years’ war on labor unionism, during which Hanna imported the pauper labor of Europe—the Slavs, the Huns, the Polaks—and even brought North the black ex-slave labor of the South to take the places of white men and Americans whom his extortions, cuts and lockouts had forced into revolt, a thirty years’ war during which Hanna hired the Pinkertons, the Mooney-Bolands, and every fashion of hireling banded together to be at the shooting, stabbing beck and nod of every moneyite who might need them to aid him in his wrong-doing, was rightly held by Witt to sufficiently set forth the blood-stained labor pose of Hanna.

Witt was right. Hanna had made wage cut after wage cut against labor. He has provoked strike after strike, and by force and money, used without stint or scruple, fought them to a standstill. It is no exaggeration to say that 10,000 men have bled and 1000 died in the killings and the woundings and the starvings of Mark Hanna’s strikes.

To-day go to Cleveland and talk with the men on his

street railroads—the Woodland Avenue and the Little Consolidated. Not a labor union man is given employment; not one can stay. The first question put to an applicant for work on any road of Hanna's by Mulhern, his man, is: "Do you belong to a labor union?" He gets no work if he does. Moreover, he is at once shadowed by one of Hanna's detectives, of which he keeps a horde as some men keep a pack of hounds, to learn if he has told the truth.

No man who belongs to organized labor in any form can work for Hanna, or in any enterprise he fosters; unless one excepts those brotherhoods to shed blood such as the Pinkertons. Then he may do his black work for Hanna and be roundly rewarded therefor. The Pinkertons, the Mooney-Bolands, are the only "labor" organizations to fatten by the hands of Hanna.

## VI.

Labor does not hold a meeting at Cleveland or near any of Hanna's interests which his detectives do not attend. They take the name of every Hanna employee who comes. Off goes his head with the moment of their report.

When the Vestibule Street Car act was being agitated in Ohio, a measure meant to force such a construction of street cars as might serve to shield the motormen from piercing cold, Hanna opposed it. His men who signed petitions favoring the act were dismissed.

When it passed in spite of Hanna, instead of vestibuling his cars, he stretched a screen of canvas. It was no protection; moreover, it was a violation in the sense of an evasion of the law.

Yet if one of his men complained he was discharged. The Hanna slaves could in the biting winter gnaw their tongues over their work and freeze in slow silence. Or they might quit and starve. Such has been the friendship of Mark Hanna to labor.

Here is some of this red oppressor's labor history in brief. It is he who holds \$118,000 of McKinley's notes, and aims to put this candidate, who thus lies as helpless in the hollow of Hanna's hand as ever lay one of his laborers, into the White House as President.

He bought the Cleveland *Herald*, turned out the union printers and "ratted" the office. He built houses and refused work to every carpenter, bricklayer, plasterer, and artisan of any kind who belonged to a labor union. He fought labor unionism off his boats, off his cars, out of his coal holes. He has drowned it in the lakes, bayoneted it about his works, starved it along his railroads, choked it to death in his mines. And now he would "talk" with Witt and other labor leaders, to show them the lambs' wool softness of his sympathetic interest for the laboring man.

But in vain does the fowler spread a net in sight of the bird. The labor element knows Hanna, better than he knows himself, perhaps.

In Hanna's Globe shipyards the men are paid \$1.15 a day. A brave figure, truly! The other day they struck for \$1.25. Parkhurst, the manager, called the strikers together, made them a protection speech, told them that \$1.25, while a ruinous price for Hanna to pay for a day's work—a man who spends a million dollars a year to merely live—would be given to all who would agree to vote for McKinley. This was only the other day in Cleveland.

Bouquet biographers, who of late have "done" Hanna's life fulsomely, speak of his stern love of privacy, and exult over the fact that Hanna never ran for office.

These blind sycophants and anxious parasites in advance needn't marvel. Hanna never ran for office because scarce one man beyond himself in Northern Ohio would vote the ticket were he named. Hanna is in such torn and tattered disrepute with the people all about him that

his only chance to hold an office is to do as he is attempting to do with McKinley. Buy the candidate; buy the candidate an office, and then own the office by owning the man.

Here is a specimen of Hanna's swift talent for business. He put every man he could get into his mines one day. He worked them night and day. He stored 2,000,000 tons of coal on barges in the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Then he cut wages to the bone and forced a strike. He extended the strike until he choked off coal production in every field between the Mississippi and the seaboard.

In two weeks Hanna ran up the price of coal \$2 per ton. He unloaded his barges at a profit of \$4,000,000. Then he called off the strike.

His aim had been attained. The miners had lost four weeks' work, a public had lost \$4,000,000, and Hanna, with his pockets full of spoil and his heart aglow with the black glory of it all, was ready for another swoop at the first game that flew his way.

Here is another business venture, one which the actors and Thespians know all about. Old John Ellsler, as honest, as kind, as generous, and as innocent a soul as lives, had saved \$250,000 by his theatres. It was his ambition to build a theatre for himself. Hanna knew of Ellsler's hope, and for his own ends fostered it. Ellsler's \$250,000 was not enough. Hanna lent him half as much to put with it. Ellsler built the theater—the Euclid Avenue Opera House—at a cost of \$375,000, and gave Hanna a mortgage for \$125,000.

It came due, this mortgage, one day, and Ellsler, lulled to a notion that time would be extended to him on his Hanna-held debts, wasn't ready.

Did Hanna extend? Not a day; not a moment. He had planned the situation for a year. It was a business triumph. He sold poor Ellsler out, stick and stone, root

and stalk, and standing grass, and bought a theater worth \$375,000 for \$125,000.

Hanna owns the theater now, while John Ellsler, wan, old, without a dollar and broken of all his hope, was seen rapping the other day for admission to the Forrest Actors' Home.

But one need not prolong Hanna. His business history and his "love of labor" are set down in blood-red letters in eleven States and Territories. The best thing about him is that he's marked for defeat. His man, McKinley, is to go down; Hanna is to go down; he may still eat his laborers, but he is not to devour the country at large.

But give him credit. Hanna is one remarkable for his brains, his courage, his aggressive ferocity and for his hard and cruel heart. All that these and millions of money can do McKinley will have done for him. And if he should succeed, then woe to the workingman; labor's night has come. When the arch foe of unionism makes the laws and enforces the laws, when with one hand on the president and the other on the patronage, Hanna makes his home at the White House, while a Republican Congress calls each day to learn his will and departs to do it, dark indeed will be labor's outlook. Hanna will be within the law, mind you, if he has to make the law to be within. Hanna only the other day paid Foraker a huge sum, and made him a Senator, too, for lobbying through his fifty-year franchises and making a law to fit his case. Hanna is ever on the right side of the statutes. And yet he is of that tribe of law abiders of whom Judge Swan spoke from the bench when he said: "To be within the letter of the law is not morally enough. He who takes the law of the land for his sole guide is neither a good neighbor nor an honest man."—*Alfred Henry Lewis in the New York Journal.*

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE GRIP OF THE MONEY MANIPULATORS.

"The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and, by the application of brains and muscle to the natural resources of this country, creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain. The miners who go one thousand feet into the earth or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates, who, in back rooms, corner the money market of the world."—*William J. Bryan.*

ENGLAND, the principle creditor nation, at the bottom of the gold conspiracy, having gold loans of fully \$20,000,000,000, refuses to join in the free coinage of silver, for it admits the reason is that its loans are on a gold basis and enables Lombard street to obtain double through England's commerce in the payment on their gold loans by commodity, estimated on a gold basis, twice as much commodity as on the same basis was promised twenty years before, or, according to A. J. Balfour's statements (leader of parliament) on March 17, 1896, in an unanimous passage of his resolution favoring bimetallism in parliament. In his speech (page 3) he says: "The debts of this country (England) are paid in commodities which are estimated upon a gold basis; the result of the appreciation of gold which has gone on for the last twenty years is that the creditor country thus paid in commodities gets a very much larger proportion of commodities, probably twice as

many, than on the original gold value of the commodities it had the slightest right to."

Balfour further says that the opponent of silver "is not so much occupied in maintaining what is called an honest currency as with the object of obtaining a currency which will get more than their just debts from those who are our debtors."

On page 5 he says: "A majority of the people of France, Italy, Germany, Belgium and America agree with him in the necessity for the free and equal coinage of silver with gold."

He adds: "As a matter of fact, there is not a single instructed economist in the country who would venture to repeat anywhere or in any company, however ignorant, the arguments for gold that once would have been received with general approval and greeted with universal applause."

"The whole trend of civilized opinion is in the direction of a double standard."

This confession, and the passage unanimously of Whitney's resolution urging the government to do all in its power for bimetallism by international agreement, was a confession of a two-fold robbery and a refusal to make restitution.

England, the auther of the wrong, solicited internationally for twenty years to redress the wrong, will continue to receive twice the amount written in every bond until all nations agree to stop paying her.

In the *Forum*, of March, 1894, Edward Bellamy says: "At the present time thirty-one thousand men are reputed to possess one-half of the wealth upon which sixty-five million persons depend for existence, and the greater part of the other half is owned by a small additional fraction of the population, leaving the vast majority of the nation without any considerable stake in the country."



THIS IS THE MIGHTIEST ISSUE IN HISTORY AGAINST THE MIGHTIEST POWER OF THE WORLD—THE PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING ONE HUNDRED BILLIONS OF GOLD BONDS.

It is a remarkable and disgusting truth that whenever a great issue divides the people of this or any other country on lines of great riches and struggling poverty, the possessors of the riches at once arrogate to themselves all the patriotism and intelligence in existence, and assign to their opponents disloyalty and lawlessness. This trick is as old as humanity, but it has been played too often to meet with success much longer.

#### HUMBUGGING THE PEOPLE.

No political campaign in any country upon the face of the globe ever witnessed such audacious attempts to deceive and humbug the plain people as have been already developed in the present one. The gold bugs have instructed their newspaper organs to lose no opportunity to make the voters believe that pecuniary loss and ruin will result to them from Democratic success. The two classes to whom they are to direct their chief endeavors to mislead are the farmers, or agriculturists of the open country, and the laborers and wage-earners of cities.

The farmer is unfortunately too often in the grip of the money-lender. To him is addressed such a threat as the following, which we clip from an Indiana paper:

"If the free silver policy should be carried at the next election—in November—all mortgages will come due at once."

To the city dweller, struggling along under the low wages, with heavy house rent and the profit of retail purchases to wrestle with, the menace is held out that prices will be still higher to him, and that his wages under silver

dollar coinage would be much diminished. Says one gold paper addressing this class:

"You wouldn't receive just the same number of dollars as at present, but it would take nearly two dollars to buy as much clothing or food as you now get for one; your rent would be nearly doubled, and every item in the cost of living would be advanced in the same proportion."

Now, there are some of the working class who are able to answer all this false prediction, effectually, for they can speak of facts within their own recollection. Those who were living twenty years ago can remember how prosperous the "times" were, simply because money (greenbacks) was plenty. The poor man's home had its comforts. His pockets were well lined. His wages were at the top notch. Everything was prosperous.

Then the money grabbers began their work. They reduced the coin capital one-half. They tried to burn up the greenbacks and substitute bank notes for them, but failed. They gave us hard times, because money was made scarce. When money is scarce the rich become richer, and the poor, poorer. And now they are trying to put even tighter screws upon the people.

The outcome of the Presidential election depends upon the capacity of the farmer and workingman to refute and expose these false appeals. It is an intellectual test of our people.

#### THE MONEY POWER AND THE CIVIL WAR.

To what extent the money power was responsible for the Civil War, can be left only to conjecture; but the benefits they expected to reap from it, after its beginning, are set forth in one of their bank circulars, issued in 1862, and known as the Hazzard Circular, which reads as follows:

"Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power, and chattel slavery destroyed. This I and my European

friends are in favor of; for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the care of the laborer, while the European plan, led on by England, is Capital's control of labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenback, as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, for we cannot control it; but we can control the bonds, and through them the bank issues."

#### THE BANKER AND THE SOLDIER.

"Compare the patriotism of the banker with that of the soldier, and see which is entitled to the greater consideration. The business of the banker narrows the conscience and chills the heart. The soldiers were not animated by the hope of plunder or the love of conquest; they fought to preserve the homestead of Liberty!"

"One of the most beautiful tributes to the old soldier I ever listened to," said the colonel, in "Statesmen Three," "was delivered at one of our reunions of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, by a gifted orator, who had served as an officer with that army: 'Grandeur than the Greek, nobler than the Roman, the soldiers of the republic, with patriotism as shoreless as the air, battled for the rights of others; for the nobility of labor; they fought that mothers might own their babes; that arrogant idleness should not scar the back of patient toil; that our country should not be a many-headed monster, made of warring States, but a nation, sovereign, great, and free. Blood was water, money was leaves, and life but as common air, until one flag floated over a republic without a master and without a slave!'"

"No one, so far as I have seen, has ventured to write a panegyric on the lives and virtues of the bankers," remarked the judge.

#### THE MONEY GAMBLER.

"These gamblers in the lives, liberties, and happiness of the American people will sooner or later feel the straight-jackets of an indignant and irresistible law."

Facts from John Clark Ridpath, the great historian: "Within ten days after the secession of South Carolina, and ten days *before* the Star of the West was fired on in the harbor of Charleston, every bank in New York suspended specie payments, leaving both people and nation to their fate."

"The efficiency of the legal-tender currency in the suppression of the rebellion has never been—can never be—overestimated. Twelve years after the war Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, addressing an assemblage of ex-Confederate officers at Macon, Ga., said: 'Your leaders were mistaken in their financial theory. They believed that the United States could use nothing but gold and silver as money, and that as they had none of these metals, they could not put armies in the field to overwhelm you, or fleets upon the ocean to blockade your coasts. They had not studied the Constitution to see that the Government has control of the question of what shall be money. We discovered that it had, and when we could not get gold or silver, we *made* the greenback, and it was that that whipped you.' 'Yes,' said one of the officers with enthusiasm, 'Judge Kelley, you are right; it was the greenback that whipped us!' This is the currency that Shylock is now trying to have canceled *because it is so great a menace to the interests of the people!* He desires to have the legal-tender currency destroyed, in order that money sharks may

be prevented from using that currency to deplete the national treasury of its gold! The hypocrisy of such a pretense is beyond the reach of satire!"

"On the afternoon before the assassination, when Vice-President Schuyler Colfax was on the eve of departing for the West to examine into the conditions and prospects of the proposed Pacific Railway, President Lincoln said to him, measuring his words: 'Mr. Colfax, I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. . . . Now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more *gold and silver* we mine makes the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now I am going to encourage that in every possible way. [Even so, Oh, Lincoln!] We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try and attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the *gold and silver* that waits for them in the West. Tell the miners from me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, *because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation*; and we shall prove in a very few years that we are the *treasury of [the world]*.' These are the last glorious words of Lincoln. Oh, thou Immortal! In thy staunch and capacious heart there was a place even for the miners and the mining interest of our country. Thy last thoughts of public concern in this world were how the war debt was about to be paid with the treasures of the mountains! To remember such a man and to compare

him with the poor automata who are now truckling and fawning around the *Hessian* Rothschild in order to support the treasury of the United States, kindles in every patriot soul a fire in which the flames of inspiration are blended with flashes of undying contempt!"

THE ROTHSCHILDS' OWN MORE THAN ONE BILLION SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS OF THE GOLD OF THE WORLD.

THE DEBT WE OWE THE BANKERS.

Shortly before his death (August, 1868) Thaddeus Stevens thus explained the passage of the Act for the issuance of paper money that was not legal tender nor acceptable by the United States for custom duties. "Yes, we had to yield; the Senate was stubborn. We did not yield, however, until we found that the country must be lost or the bankers gratified; and we have sought to save the country in spite of the cupidity of its wealthier citizens."

MULHALL TELLS US THAT "SINCE 1840, THE BANKING CAPITAL OF THE WORLD HAD INCREASED ABOUT ELEVEN - FOLD; THAT IS THREE TIMES AS FAST AS COMMERCE, OR THIRTY TIMES FASTER THAN POPULATION."

"The dealers in money have for many years endeavored to make all money except gold subsidiary. When the Bland law was passed in 1878, restoring the silver dollar to coinage, they inserted in the law, 'when not otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract.' This was intended as a fatal stab to silver, as by making gold contracts they intended to reduce silver to subsidiary coin. But that did not work, as it is well understood by those who have examined the question, and it has been decided by the courts,

that a stipulation to pay in a particular kind of money, cannot be enforced between private parties, as the debt is satisfied by a tender of any money which law makes legal tender."

OBLIGATIONS MAY BE SACRED BUT THERE  
ARE DEBTS NOT SO SACRED AS JUSTICE.

"W. H. English, President of the First National Bank of Indianapolis, Ind., and vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with General Hancock, in a statement to the stockholders, on his retiring from the control of the bank, said: 'I congratulate the stockholders of our enterprise. The bank has been in operation fourteen years under my control, with a capital stock of \$500,000. In the meantime it has voluntarily returned to its stockholders \$500,000 paid on capital stock, besides paying them in dividends \$1,496,250, part of which was gold, and I now turn it over to you with a capital unimpaired, and \$327,000 of undivided earnings on hand. To this might be added the premiums of U. S. bonds at present rates, amounting to \$36,000; besides quite a large amount for lost or destroyed bills.'"

Secretary Howell Cobb, of the Treasury, under Mr. Buchanan, in his annual report for 1857, had this to say: "At the time the New York City banks suspended specie payments, in October, they reported a larger amount of specie in their vaults than their notes in circulation, and, notwithstanding this fact, they were unable to meet the demand of their creditors under their deposit system. It is evident that great monied corporations, created under the laws of the State, have had a controlling influence in the undue expansion of private credit."

In his annual message for the same year Governor Wise, of Virginia, among other things, said: "In this crisis the

production of gold inflated the currency, and its export left not enough to bear and redeem the over-issue of paper circulation. The only redeeming power is in the immense production of other things besides gold to pay our debts and bring us to specie. The speculations in the Northwest and the gold diggings on the Pacific coast have inflated our currency, blown us a bubble which is now bursting and threatening to put our State bonds into the market at a disparaging rate of discount."

Senator Jones said three years ago in the Senate: "Because the belief of a majority of the people of this country has been in what has been called the automatic system, a system not regulated by legislation; and the creditors of the world, the holders of the bonds of the world, including, of course, the creditor classes of the United States, are always vehemently against Government interference with money, except when it is getting cheaper. At this time their objection is to silver. Forty years ago their objection was to gold. If by any chance gold should again become plentiful they would again insist on its demonetization.

"In 1848 a great discovery of gold was made, and the most learned of scientists, in the interest of the bond-holding classes (those who are now, in my judgment, attempting insiduously to enslave the world), wrote endless essays bewailing the disadvantages to result to the bondholders and owners of public debts by reason of the beneficent discoveries in California and Australia. They advocated as to gold then what they advocate as to silver now—that it should be eliminated from the category of the automatic theory, which, from the earliest period, meant the coinage of both gold and silver at a relation established by law or mint regulation. In the interest of this class Germany actually demonetized gold in 1857. In no instance in the



history of the world, when one or both of the metals had been getting dearer, have the creditor classes been heard to favor Government interference with the automatic system; but, on the contrary, they have denounced all such interference as an interference with natural law.

“But no sooner did they find one of the metals—whether gold or silver—becoming a little cheaper by reason of increased production, no sooner did they see a prospect of losing the unearned increment, which by reason of the almost constant increase in the value of the monetary unit they had been receiving, than they reversed the entire policy of history and—for example, before the French monetary commission of 1869—declared in favor of Governmental interference with the automatic theory, with what they had theretofore called ‘natural law’—even going so far as to declare that as governments control the standard of money they ought, so far as possible, to assure its value—by value meaning, of course, purchasing power.

“It was stated that the amount of gold in the world is placed at \$3,600,000,000; that if gold was demonetized tomorrow so enormous is the amount of it in existence, compared with the demand for the commodity for manufacturing and other purposes outside of coinage, that an ounce of it, instead of being worth \$20.67, would not be worth perhaps one-hundredth part that sum.

#### WALL STREET'S OLD TRICK.

“The Wall Street men are again talking about hundreds of millions of dollars lost to the country by the lowering of the quotations of stocks and bonds on their blackboards,” says the *New York News*. “Of course, they know themselves that there has been no such loss except in their imaginations. Being all gold standard men, however, they try to play the old game of getting outsiders to believe

that the mere fact that there is any doubt about the election of their candidate is enough to depreciate the value of property.

"Wall Street's method of enriching or impoverishing the country at will is, however, better understood now than formerly. It will find that it cannot now work this 'racket' as it has done in previous presidential elections. The people know that the machinery, railroads, lands and other things represented by stocks and bonds are worth just as much now as they were before the Democratic convention. Nothing has happened to them, and their producing, or money-earning capacity is just the same.

"Wall Street is not the creator or the destroyer of wealth by its manipulating skill. It feeds on lies. Because it chooses to quote such a stock worth for one moment two dollars a share and the next moment only fifty cents, it does not follow that the country has lost a dollar and a half of its wealth in the interval. No one believes the brokers, and no one accepts their words regarding stocks, excepting the most credulous of mortals."

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE IMPENDING CRISIS UNDER THE GOLD STANDARD.

"We are clad in the armor of a righteous cause, and this is stronger than the army of error which is being led against it."—*William J. Bryan to the Democratic Convention.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON fought with might and main, in 1791, against the establishment of the United States Bank, and in a letter to Mr. Gallatin, dated Dec. 13, 1803, expresses himself in these words:

"The nation is at this time *so* strong and united in its sentiments that it cannot be shaken at this moment. But suppose a series of untoward events should occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of a republican government, to meet a crisis of great danger, or to unhinge the confidence of the people in the public functionaries, an institution like this, penetrating, by its branches, every part of the Union, acting by command and as a phalanx, may, in a critical moment, *upset the government*. I deem *no government safe* which is under the *vassalage* of any *self-constituted authorities* or any *other authority* than that of *the nation*. What an obstruction would not this bank of the United States, with all its branch banks, be in time of war? It might *dictate* to us the *peace* we should *accept* or *withdraw its aids*, etc."

While the value of the farm lands and the stock and cattle in Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania have decreased several hundred millions—while the value of lands all over the South and the value of products in the

Southern and Western States have decreased many hundred millions of dollars, property values in and about the great commercial and financial centers like Boston, New York and Philadelphia—where money goes a begging at 1 and 2 per cent. on call—have increased in one year \$307,000,000.

This is the result of the financial policy fastened upon the United States by the money power of London and New York.

As early as 1873 the eminent French political economist, Ernest Seyd, wrote in words which, on account of their exact fulfillment in our day, showed a foresight almost prophetic. He said:

“It is a great mistake to suppose that the adoption of the gold standard of value by other States besides England will be beneficial. It will only lead to the destruction of the monetary equilibrium hitherto existing, and cause a fall in the value of silver from which England’s trade and the Indian silver valuations will suffer more than all other interests, grievous as the general decline of prosperity all over the world will be.”

Again with keen foresight the same writer, on the same subject, said:

“The economic authorities of the country will refuse to listen to the cause here foreshadowed; every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes and irreconcilable matters; the workman and his strikes will be the first convenient target; then ‘speculating’ and ‘overtrading’ will have their turn; many other allegations will be made, totally irrelevant to the real issue, but satisfactory to the moralizing tendency of financial writers.”

Soon after silver was demonetized in India the London *Times* had the following leading editorial:

"The unprecedented fall in the rupee is causing great concern to all connected with India. On Friday, our correspondent telegraphed that the feeling in Calcutta was of 'universal consternation.' 'The evil threatens,' he says, 'to paralyze all trades, and much indignation is expressed at the apparent apathy of the Home Government.'

"That the position is very serious, and in some respects, disastrous, is beyond dispute. . . .

"The Government of India finds itself saddled with a currency that is the sport of circumstances over which it has no control.

"The effect has been to increase the burden of its public debt, in sterling, by 50 per cent. during the past twenty-eight years, quite apart from new borrowings; to reduce large numbers of its servants to pecuniary distress; and to affect grain prices in a way which seems, to some observers, to intensify every local failure of the crops, and *to threaten the poorer classes in India with a chronic artificial scarcity of food.*"

A shrinkage in the volume of currency and an appreciation in the gold unit of value enrich the owners of money, of bonds, of securities, and of credits redeemable in gold, and impoverishes debtors and the producing and laboring classes, who are always the victims of contraction and falling prices. In the South and West the depreciation in agricultural products and in the value of lands, during the years of the panic, have amounted to more than the debt of the United States. Five hundred millions of dollars, nor twice that sum, if an accurate estimate could be made, would represent the enormous losses that the farmers of the South and West and the mining and other interests of

those sections sustained during the prevalence of the present panic.

This is no exaggeration of the destruction of values sustained by the farming interests of the Union during the panic. It will be established when it is stated that the depreciation of property in Georgia during the years of 1893-4-5 has been over \$53,000,000, which is about one-eighth or 12½ per cent. of the taxable property of the State. From 1860 to 1895 there has been a decrease of \$41,000,000 in the value of agricultural lands, while the population has in the same time increased to over 2,000,000, or double that of 1860.

In 1876 Henri Cernuschi said: "Pernicious in Europe, pernicious in America, pernicious in Asia, the monometallic scheme has produced, and can produce, nothing but disaster."

It is not overproduction but underconsumption that has paralyzed industry and made penniless such vast numbers of men whose labor is said to be the wealth of a nation. Therefore are we poor though rich when labor has lost its opportunities for producing or earning, and the medium of exchange is locked up in the vaults of the few.

#### DEBTS AND THE MONEY TO PAY THEM.

People's debts.. .. .	\$40,000,000,000
Money in circulation.....	200,000,000
.                    \$2 in money to pay \$400 of debts.	

Professor Jevons once said that the English gold-standard monetary system would end if 5 per cent. of those entitled to gold should demand it at one time.

The fight to-day is a monopolistic one for the control of credit, and this is based upon a contention solely over the number of dollars that shall be placed in circulation. The

very men who are fighting silver to-day would fight gold should its supply suddenly and materially increase. Considering the scarcity of gold, that it is controlled by a powerful syndicate that can hoard it, take it out of the country or send it back whenever they wish, it does seem, to any unprejudiced man, the height of folly to build a nation's industries upon so insecure, so fickle, so insignificant a basis. It leads to the issuance of unlimited promises to pay gold—since the quantity of metal is far too small for commercial transactions without credit, and hence the world is always within sight of a panic contingent upon whether creditors would demand gold or not.

The debt paying power of our exports have fallen below what we owe foreigners and gold must go to supply the deficit. Compared with prices ruling January 1, 1891, the price of wheat July 1st, last, was 38 per cent. lower, of flour 30 per cent. lower, of corn 43 per cent. lower, of oats 57 per cent. lower, of cotton 25 per cent. lower. In other words, sixty-two bushels of wheat went as far in paying our foreign indebtedness in January, 1891, as one hundred bushels go to-day, while seventy barrels of flour would have gone as far as one hundred to-day, and for three pounds of cotton exported in January, 1891, we realized as much as we realize for four pounds exported to-day.

Can patriotic American citizens vote to continue the present policy of the gold contractionists?

With each issue of bond has come contraction of our currency consequent on piling up the borrowed gold in the treasury and with such contraction has come a steady fall in prices.

It is folly for any one to contend that a continuation of the present policy can bring anything but disaster.

LOSSES IN TWENTY YEARS THROUGH CONTRACTION AND THE  
DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER AND PAPER MONEY.

Shrinkage in real estate values.....	\$12,500,000,000
In the price of cotton.....	4,000,000,000
In the price of wheat.....	9,000,000,000
Corn, tobacco, and other farm products.....	11,000,000,000
Cattle, sheep, horses.....	8,500,000,000
Increase of mortgage indebtedness by the decrease in volume of money.....	15,000,000,000
Usury exacted by restricted money volume.....	15,000,000,000
Shrinkage in the value of lumber, iron and the raw materials for manufacturing.....	15,000,000,000
Shrinkage in the value of manufacturing of all kinds	20,000,000,000
Loss to manufacturers by compelling them to com- pete with countries whose money is worth only half as much as ours.....	15,000,000,000
Shrinkage of value of lead, copper, coal, zinc, sil- ver, etc.....	6,500,000,000
Loss to 3,000,000, laborers (men and women) at \$2 per day.....	37,560,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$169,060,000,000</u>

## RESULT OF THE CLEVELAND-BANK CONSPIRACY.

*Before the panic.*

Value of property \$66,000,000,000 ; Debts \$40,000,000,000.

*After.*

Value of property \$30,000,000,000 ; Debts \$40,000,000,000.

Loss to debtors \$36,000,000,000 ; Gain to creditors \$36,000,000,000.

Nation bankrupt for \$10,000,000,000.

Loss to the unemployed annually \$3,000,000,000.

## DEBT ON THE GOLD BASIS.

One-half the property of Europe and America is in debt on a gold basis. Unless silver is restored to coinage, or a legal tender paper substitute used, sufficient in volume to support the place of silver and provide for the increasing exchange needs of increasing peoples and commodity,



civilization must lapse, and, a ruin like the fall of the Roman empire overspread the world, gradually but surely.

Contracting of money and the limiting of tribute and currency of the Roman empire to gold only is given by Alison (see III Volume of Essays) as the cause of the fall of Rome.

Mr. R. M. T. Hunter in his report of 1852 to the United States Senate says: "The mischief would be great indeed if all the world were to adopt but one of the precious metals as the standard of value. To adopt gold alone would diminish the specie currency more than one-half; and the reduction the other way, should silver be taken as the only standard, would be large enough to prove highly disastrous to the human race."

Senator Sherman, in a speech in the Senate in 1869, before he changed his mind, and as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, engineered the passage of the Act of 1873, annulling silver money, said: "The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person, except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer, or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. It means the ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their business capital, though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural productions, without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man would dare to build a house, a railroad, a factory, or a barn with this certain fact before him?"

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONTRACTION OF THE CURRENCY IS CONFISCATION.

"Some who are ready to use the power of the Government to limit the supply of money, in order to prevent injustice to the creditor, are slow to admit the right of the Government to increase the currency when necessary to prevent injustice to the debtor. I denounce the cruel interpretation of governmental power which would grant the authority to starve, but would withhold the authority to feed our people—which would permit a contraction of our currency, even to the destruction of all prosperity, but would prohibit the expansion of our currency to keep pace with the growing needs of a growing nation!"—*William J. Bryan.*

Good prices lessen the burden of fixed charges and bring prosperity and happiness to the people as a whole, but especially to the producing classes.

J. R. McCulloch, an English economist, says of an increasing volume of money: "It promotes industry and diminishes the weight of obligations which press upon the producing classes whether employed or unemployed."

"New uses will be found for money," says Thomas Tooke, "when it is abundant. New avenues of commerce will be opened; new branches of industry will be essayed until increased production finds employment."

Professor Chevalier, of France, in speaking of the increase of money, says: "Such a change will benefit those who live by current labor and enterprise. It will injure those who live upon the fruits of past labor."

## A CHANCE FOR LIFE.

Sweat and toil, life and blood, would be given a chance in the race of life with the usurers if free coinage is

secured. Some degrees of justice would prevail, and the foul blot which now blackens our national escutcheon would be effaced. The dark road which this system has opened, and which leads only to injustice, ruin, crime, wretchedness, revolt and pauperism, would be changed to the broad road of righteousness and virtue—into flowery paths of manliness, hope, prosperity, gladness. The difference between these roads, is the difference between injustice, as practiced by Shylock, and justice as taught by the Nazarene.

Abraham Lincoln said: "If the government contracted a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracted the money volume before the debt was paid, it is the most heinous crime that a government could commit against a people." This is what the gold contractionists have done and what the restoration of silver must undo.

Baron Rothschild said: "The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation."

"That prices will rise or fall as the volume of money be increased or diminished," says Professor Walker, "is a law as unalterable as any law of nature."

"All intelligent writers on currency agree," said W. H. Crawford, an ex-secretary of the treasury, "that when it is decreasing in amount poverty and misery prevail."

The panic of 1873 was caused by the Refunding Act, which greatly reduced the circulating medium in the United States. The panic of 1893 and the prevailing hard times are the result of the contraction of redemption money to gold alone. This severe contraction, as Blaine predicted it would and according to an economic law acknowledged by all writers, has resulted in falling prices with the "poverty and misery" entailed by that condition.

John Stuart Mill says "that an increase of the quantity of money raises prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency."

Under the unalterable workings of this law prices have fallen. Low prices for products bring hardship and poverty to the producer. The burden of fixed payments, such as debts, taxes, interest, rents, railroad fare and freight, etc., are increased in proportion as prices fall until the producing classes are practically enthralled. Under the present financial system, the gold contraction forced upon the country by the security holding classes, as before stated, prices have reached the lowest ever known in this country.

"Whoever controls the volume of money of any country," said James A. Garfield, "is absolute master of all industry and commerce."

#### WHEN MONEY IS SCARCE AND DEAR.

It is evident that the chief argument of the goldites against the coinage of silver is that "the intrinsic or market value of the silver in the silver dollar is less than the intrinsic value of the gold in the gold dollar."

Suppose that the intrinsic value of the silver in a silver dollar—the value of the silver in gold—is only 50 cents, what has this intrinsic value to do with it, anyhow? What is the intrinsic value of the piece of printed paper which you unhesitatingly accept for a dollar? Less than one-fiftieth of one cent. It is not, then, the intrinsic value that makes the greenback or the silver certificate a good dollar; it is the stamp of the Government of the United States, the same stamp which makes the silver coin a dollar. Does the gold bug object to his favorite national bank manufacturing dollars out of paper with the Government stamp

impressed on them to make them valid? Not at all. Why, then, should he demand an intrinsic gold value in a silver coin, when he does not do so as to his bank's paper?

The fact is that the goldite object to silver, not because of its lack of intrinsic value as measured in gold, but because of the addition it makes to the currency. When money is scarce and dear, the goldite gains; when it is plenty, he loses. His interest always is adverse to that of the rest of the community. His political object is to make hard times and dear money.

As to our foreign indebtedness and the helpless dependence of our people on the money power, the famous French bimettallist, the late Henry Cernuschi, said:

"The United States of America, on the contrary, are debtors to Europe for a portion of the sums which they have employed in the development of their industrial system, and must necessarily liquidate their debts abroad by realizing upon the products of their soil and of their manufactures.

"Now, as these foreign debts are, on the one hand contracted in gold, and as, on the other, American products in Europe have to reckon with the depressing competition of similar products exported by countries having a silver standard of paper money, it follows that the appreciation of gold, in regard to silver, that has taken place since 1873, has had a two-fold result for the United States—which have remained faithful to the single gold standard since that date—namely: (1) It has diminished by half, on American territory, the value in gold of all the national products which are subject to the said competition; and (2) it has doubled the real burden of the debts contracted abroad in gold, since double the quantity of American products is now required to discharge the annual liabilities arising from these debts."

“With the steady contraction of the currency by the Bank of England, which began in July, 1836, prices fell during the whole of the ensuing winter, and in the spring of 1837 the panic was universal. Many bankruptcies took place, though fewer in Glasgow than might have been expected from the severity of the pressure, owing to the amount of solid wealth which had been made in the preceding five years. But as prices of all sorts of manufactured produce had sunk nearly a half, the manufacturers were under the necessity of lowering wages, and this soon induced strikes in nearly all the branches of skilled industry.”—*Sir A. Alison*, “Autobiography,” Vol. I., p. 369.

Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, of Paris, in a speech before the French Monetary Commission of 1869, said:

“The actual state of things—that is to say, the simultaneous employment of the two precious metals—is satisfactory, and gives rise to no complaint. What is most needed in commerce is facility in its operations, and to-day it employs, according to its needs, sometimes gold and sometimes silver, and the partial replacement of silver by gold, which has taken place in these later times, has been effected without inconvenience. They now demand that silver shall be demonetized, as fifteen years ago they demanded that gold should be. The French government wisely refused to demonetize gold then, and if it is equally wise it will refuse to demonetize silver now. In fact, whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined which serves as the measure of the value of things.

“In countries with the double standard the principal circulation will always be established of that metal which is the most abundant.

"It is scarcely twenty years ago that silver was the principal element in our transactions. Since the discoveries of the Californian and Australian mines it is gold which has taken its place. No person can foresee what the future has in store for us, or can predict that the proportions in which the two metals are now produced may not be changed in favor of silver.

"It appears to me that there are real advantages in maintaining silver in circulation and none in its suppression, since it is now actually a part of the circulation. I should regret the demonetization of silver in its relations to our internal circulation, our commercial intercourse with other countries, and the always uncertain eventualities of the future. But I should regret it even more if our example should be followed by other nations, for that suppression of silver would be followed by a destruction of values without any compensation."

Lord Beaconsfield in a speech in 1879 said: "Gold is every day appreciating in value; and, as it appreciates, the lower become prices of all other property."

Alexander Hamilton, as secretary of the United States treasury, in a report of Congress, said: "To annul the use of either metal is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium."

Thomas Jefferson, in referring to the same report, said: "I return again the report on the mint. I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals."

Count Wolowsky, testifying before the French Monetary Convention, in 1869, said: "The sum total of the precious metal is reckoned at 50 milliards, one-half gold and one-half silver. If by a stroke of the pen they suppress one of the metals in the monetary service, they double the demand for the other to the ruin of all debtors."

M. Rouland, governor of the Bank of France, before the same convention, said: "We have not to do with ideal theories. The two money metals have actually co-existed since the origin of human society. They co-exist because the two together are necessary, by their quantity, to meet the needs of circulation."

John Stuart Mill says: "If the whole money in circulation were doubled, prices would be doubled. If it were only increased one-fourth, prices would rise one-fourth. There would be one-fourth more money, all of which would be used to purchase goods of some description. When there had been time for the increased supply of money to reach all markets, or (according to the conventional metaphor) to permeate all the channels of circulation, all prices would have risen one-fourth. But the general rise of price is independent of this diffusing and equalizing process. Even if some prices were raised more and others less, the average rise would be one-fourth. This is a necessary consequence of the fact that a fourth more money would have been given for only the same quantity of goods. General prices, therefore, would in any case be a fourth higher.

"The very same effect would be produced on prices if we suppose the goods diminished instead of the money increased; and the contrary effect if the goods were increased or the money diminished. If there were less money in the hands of the community, and the same amount of goods to be sold, less money altogether would be given for them, and they would be sold at lower prices; lower, too, in the precise ratio in which the money was diminished. So that the value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity; every increase of quantity lowering the value, and every diminution raising it, in a ratio exactly equivalent."—*Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. 2, pages 27, 28, 29, 30.



## CHAPTER IX.

## SO-CALLED ATTACKS ON THE SUPREME COURTS.

Criticism of the Supreme Court is by no means an innovation. The people did not hesitate to denounce the Dred Scott decision, and there were general manifestations of disapproval when the Supreme Court participated in a partisan division on the Presidency in 1876. The manner in which this high judicial body finally reached a conclusion on the income tax necessarily produce a loss of confidence on the part of the people, as to their infallible integrity.

"THE attitude of the Democratic platform toward the Supreme Court continues to excite attention" says the *New York Journal*. "In view of the fierceness of the attacks made upon it, the wording of the plank is surprisingly moderate. It merely says:

"We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains, after that decision (against the income tax), or which may come from its reversal by the court, as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that we may all bear our proportion of the expenses of Government.

"Do the critics realize that the Republican party protested as strongly against the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous Dred Scott case? A little history right here will not come amiss.

"In December, 1856, five of the eight judges of the Supreme Court decided that the terms of the Missouri Compromise, which had been observed as good law since 1820, were unconstitutional, and Congress could not pro-

hibit slavery in any of the Territories. This decision, however, did not go squarely in the face of all previous decisions, even those of a few weeks before, as did the last income tax decision.

“Now, observe the attitude of the Republican party in 1860 toward this court, which is now held in such reverence by all tax dodgers. The Republican platform of that year, on which Lincoln was elected, declared:

“‘The new dogma, that the constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, . . . is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country. . . . We deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals (meaning, doubtless, the Supreme Court), to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.’

“Passing over the fierce attacks upon the Supreme Court by Charles Sumner and other great leaders of the party which now resents far milder criticisms, let us turn to the report of a joint committee of both Houses of the New York Legislature, April 9, 1857, the report being subsequently adopted. After calling attention to the fact that the court was not truly representative, since the five majority judges in the Dred Scott case were all from the South, just as many hold that the court to-day does not represent the majority of the people, the report continues: ‘The safety and peace of the nation require its reorganization, so as to admit into it a fair and equal representation from the free States, according to the ratio of population between free and slave States, which can and ought promptly to be done by act of Congress.’ That is, Congress was asked by the State of New York to increase the number of judges, putting in those who would be likely to reverse certain decisions. It is not likely that the Chicago platform meant to go as far as this.

“When one considers that the legislation of nearly all other civilized countries to-day is as much in favor of income taxation, even of a progressive character, as it was in favor of liberty of the person forty years ago, does it not seem likely that the Democratic party championed a cause that is bound to win when it pledged itself and demanded of Congress to ‘use all the constitutional power which remains’ to introduce income taxation?

“The opposition to this by Messrs. Hanna, Hobart, Yerkes and the other millionaires that now escape their just share of taxes was to be expected. The fiercer this opposition the more the people will see that their only hope lies with the Democratic party.

“The honest critics of this excellent plank should consider the dissenting opinions on the income tax of Justices Harlan and Brown, which in a very suspicious way were kept out of most of the public prints. Justice Harlan declared:

“‘The practical effect of the decision to-day is to give to certain kinds of property a position of favoritism and advantage inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our social organization, and to invest them with power and influence that may be perilous to that portion of the American people upon whom rests the larger part of the burdens of the government, and who ought not to be subjected to the dominion of aggregated wealth any more than the property of the country should be at the mercy of the lawless.’

“Justice Brown declared that:

‘As it implies a declaration that every income tax must be laid according to the rule of apportionment, the decision involves nothing less than a surrender of the taxing power to the moneyed class. . . . I hope it may not prove the first step toward the submergence of the liberties of the

people in a sordid despotism of wealth. As I cannot escape the conviction that the decision of the court in this great case is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country, and that it approaches the proportions of a national calamity, I feel it my duty to enter my protest against it.'

Evidently if the Chicago plank on the income tax is revolutionary, the same is true of a minority of the Supreme Court, and should be true of the rest of us."

#### THE INCOME TAX DECISION.

The rich men who succeeded in nullifying the income tax by inducing the Supreme Court not only to go back on the decisions of a century, but to reverse its own previous ruling in the same case, made the poorest investment that plutocracy ever indulged in. They could better have afforded to pay the tax ten times over than to have raised the storm which has beat down the prices of their inflated securities and threatens them with greater losses still in the values they have forced up to the bursting point, or, in the parlance of the railroads, to all that the traffic will bear.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE CRIME OF 1873.

"It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families and posterity. We have petitioned and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked, and our calamity came.

"We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

"Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world; having behind us the commercial interests, and the laboring interests, and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'"—*William J. Bryan.*

Professor John Clark Ridpath, the eminent historian, says in the *Arena*: "The act of 1873 abolished the standard unit of money and account in the United States. Until that time all other coins in use under our constitution and statute had been made to do obeisance to the silver dollar as the unit of money and account. That dollar had never been altered by the fraction of one grain in the quantity of pure metal composing it from the time when it was ordained in 1792 to the time when it was abolished from the list of coins to be henceforth struck at the mints of the United States. Every other coin, whether of gold or silver, had been altered and altered again; the silver unit never. To that unit all the rest, both gold and silver, had from

the first been conformed. The eagle of the original statute and of all subsequent statutes was not made to be ten dollars, but to be of *the value* of ten dollars. The half eagle was not made to be five dollars, but to be of *the value* of five dollars. The quarter eagle was of *the value* of two and a-half dollars, and the double eagle was of *the value* of twenty dollars. Even the gold dollar of 1849, *mirabile dictu!* was *not* a dollar, but was made to be of *the value* of a dollar! The subsidiary coins were all fractions of the dollar, and the dollar was of silver only.

“Not a single dictionary or cyclopædia in the English language before the year 1878 ever defined dollar in any terms other than of silver. In that year the administrators of the estate of Noah Webster, deceased, cut the plates of our standard lexicon and inserted *a new definition* that had become necessary in order to make the bond intrigue, in Congress and out of it, consist!

“True it is that by the statute of 1792 the dollar was made to *exist* in the gold coin also; but that dollar was a dollar only by its conformity in value to the silver coin which was the one standard unit of money and account. Our metal money existed in both kinds, and the system was bimetallic to this extent, that the debtor might pay in either; but the unit existed in silver only. To abolish that unit, to strike it down, to cancel it, and to substitute another therefor WAS a crime! It has been rightly so branded by the American people, and it will be so written in history. It makes no difference whether it was done secretly or openly; whether in the day or in the night; whether by a committee or by the House in full debate; whether Congress understood it or did not understand it. *It was a crime all the same against the interests of the American people; against the American people themselves, and against all the people of the world; for it was done against justice, against truth, against the law of both man and God.*”

To gain their ends and increase their hold on the money of the world, the bondholders said: "We will take away, if we can, by some process, the optional dollar now constitutional for eighty-one years in the United States, and will place in its stead a dollar in one metal only—a metal that we know, from its scarcity and from our ability to corner it in the markets of the world, must rapidly, under such conditions, appreciate in its purchasing power, all the time hiding its own fallacy, while at the same time the discarded metal, being disparaged and abolished, must lose its quality as primary money and be driven gradually into the relation of subsidiary coin and mere merchandise.

"Words are inadequate to describe the profundity and criminality of this scheme. It was carried into effect by the Act of Feb. 18, 1873. It was done by a turn of Shylock's wrist, so adroit, and one might say devilish, as to be **INDESCRIBABLE IN THE PHRASEOLOGY OF THIS WORLD.** It was an act on which no king of the seventeenth century would have ventured without incurring the risk of revolution. It was an act which, instead of being misrepresented by those who have found it out and nailed it to the gibbet of public contempt, has never been adequately denounced. It was an act which has positively blackened the honor of the American republic. **IT WAS AN ACT WHICH THOUGH SUBSEQUENTLY DEFENDED, EVEN TO THE PRESENT DAY, BY ALL THE PURCHASED ABILITY OF THE WORLD, IS NEVERTHELESS CONDEMNED BY THE CONSCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE OF MANKIND AS THE MOST COLD-BLOODED, UNJUST, UNCALLED-FOR, UNMITIGATED AND DAMNABLE OUTRAGE EVER DONE IN THIS CENTURY TO THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF A GREAT PEOPLE!**

"The conspiracy of the International Gold Trust seems to have triumphed. The indignation of the people against it has been of no avail. That power which became organic

as a bondholding class in America just after the close of the Civil War has, by its league with the financial system of Great Britain, succeeded in trampling down truth and justice, in choking the protests of a mighty people, in destroying their industries, in reducing them from proprietors to tenants, in taking away the rewards of labor and enterprise, *and in establishing a condition which tends inevitably to the early and permanent institution in the United States of a peasantry subordinated to the will and purpose of their masters.*

“The law of 1878 left silver exposed to the intrigues of the enemy and placed gold in such a situation that the price of it might be gradually advanced at the option of the holders. It made silver to be merchandise, coinable into dollars that were to be buoyed up by coinage from the bullion value which the goldites might measure in terms of gold, and depress as much as they pleased. This actually occurred. Gold began steadily to appreciate. Its purchasing power, as measured by the average of all other commodities, rose higher and higher. The supposition that the average of all other commodities *declined in value* is observed. *They declined only in price*—price as measured by gold. Gold as measured by silver advanced in price and purchasing power. The *price* of silver bullion declined, or was forced down, by the standard of gold; but the *value* of silver—raw silver—did NOT decline more rapidly than the average of the great products of America and Europe; that is, it did not decline at all.

The whole situation was so contrived as to produce a divergency, a disparity, in the bullion values of silver and gold; but gold was able to conceal its fallacy, just as any other metal, from iron to iridium, would conceal its fallacy if it were the sole standard of values. So much gold, namely, 23.22 grains, was stamped as the standard dollar, and if the treacherous metal had risen until its pur-



chasing power was five hundred per cent. of what it had been previously, until one unit of it would purchase a thousand bushels of wheat or fifty acres of farming land, it would not have revealed the lie that was in it! It would still have been "the honest dollar!" As matter of fact, gold bullion rose higher and higher, and all things else, including silver bullion, were correspondingly depressed in price.

"The advantages which this condition—carefully contrived by the money power with machinations and intrigues extending back to the close of the war—would give, and did give, to the owners of gold and those to whom gold had been promised in payment cannot well be described. It was incalculable. The spectral nightmare of debt built him a throne on the ruins of a million homes—just as Sherman had said he would—and plumed himself all summer. The goldites became by the possession of augmented power the autocrats of the world. Strange indeed to see the prices of all the products and industries of men sinking, sinking, under the pressure of so small and diabolical an instrument as a gold dollar! The thing has seemed to be possessed of a veritable devil. Its action has been like that of a manikin three miles out at sea, submerged to his chin, but by some infernal self-pressure able to lift himself out of the water to the horizon of his waist. Looking around over the vast deep, he cries in glee, 'Great heavens, how the ocean has sunk away!'"

The following statements are taken from a friendly debate on the silver question which took place by arrangement, between Mr. R. G. Horr, of the New York *Tribune*, and U. S. Senator William Stewart, of Nevada, both Republicans, in the columns of the above journal.

Mr. Horr, in his second communication, under the heading, "The Law of 1873," says:

"I have seen it somewhere stated that Senator Stewart himself voted for the bill of 1873, and that he did so not knowing what provision that bill contained. Whether he did or not is of little import now.

"The bill which demonetized silver in the United States was before the American Congress for nearly three years, in one shape or another, before it became a law. It was recommended by the Director of the Mint and by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. It was passed after due deliberation, just as all laws should be passed. The coinage of the old silver dollar was left out of the bill simply because, at that time, a majority of the men who voted for the bill believed it to be best. There was nothing underhanded about it. It was simply doing what all the nations of the world who are advanced in civilization either had done or were contemplating and very soon did. Senator Stewart's list shows this.

"Does the Senator believe that this action has been taken by all the great nations of the world simply in obedience to bondholders and in the interest of the men who loan money, and that it has been done simply to make money dear? To me such a proposition is simply absurd. That would make nearly all the statesmen of the world merely a set of mercenaries. I do not believe they are anything of the kind. In Senator Stewart's last article he still insists that the movement was 'revolutionary.' I do not know in what sense he uses that word. If he simply means that it was changing from an old method to a new one, then he is right. But if that is 'revolution,' then civilization itself is 'revolutionary.'"

Senator Stewart, in answer to the above, in the next communication, under the heading "How Silver was Demonetized," says:

"Before closing, I suppose I ought to allude to another matter of no great importance in determining what ought to be done next, but of vital importance in determining the good faith of those who participated in the demonetization of silver.

"Mr. Horr says:

" 'It (the act of 1873) was passed after due deliberation, just as all laws should be passed. The coinage of the old silver dollar was left out of that bill simply because, at that time, a majority of the men who voted for the bill believed it to be best.'

"I deny every statement in the foregoing quotation. The question of demonetizing silver was not discussed, not even mentioned, while that bill was pending in the Senate. Only one Senator (and he was chairman of the Committee on Finance) has ever acknowledged that he knew at the time, that silver was demonetized by the act of 1873. The leading members of both houses of Congress made denials of all knowledge of that provision of the bill which omitted the silver dollar from the list of coins. I will quote what Senator Thurman said as a sample of the remarks of others, some of whose names I give.

"Senator Thurman said:

" 'I cannot say what took place in the House, but know when the bill was pending in the Senate we thought it was simply a bill to reform the mints, regulate coinage and fix up one thing and another, and there is not a single man in the Senate, I think, unless a member of the committee from which the bill came, who had the slightest idea that it was even a squint toward demonetization.'

"Senators Conkling, Allison, Blaine, Voorhees, Beck, Boggy, Hereford and Howe, and Representatives Garfield, afterward President, Holman, Cannon, Kelly and Burchard made similar remarks.

"President Grant, who signed the bill, was also ignorant of the provision demonetizing silver.

"If the Tribune will publish it I will furnish record evidence showing how silver was demonetized, and let the public judge whether it was done by fraud, mistake or by the ordinary method of legislation. I have no room for such publication in this debate."

Honorable W. H. Harvey, of Illinois, writes:

"Any reader having a doubt as to the secret and silent stealth used in the demonetization of silver, can satisfy himself by going to any city library where the files of papers are kept that were published in January and February, 1873, and he will discover that no mention was made of the passing of such a law.

"The only account of what was enacted will be found in the telegraphic news from Washington sent out by the *Associated Press*, that:

"'The mint and coinage bill that passed the Senate this afternoon is a codification of all existing statutes on the subject.'

"It was not regarded as of sufficient importance to be noticed editorially by the papers.

"That which has since 1876, the time of its discovery, convulsed half the world, and consumed millions of words in the news and editorial columns of the papers and journals of the country, went by, at the time of its enactment, without being noticed. It has since been intrenched and defended by all the power that capital could wield, and the people have been powerless to reverse the great wrong.

"General Grant, who was at that time President of the United States, is on record as saying that he had not read the bill, and signed it on the representation and understanding that it was a codification of the then existing statutes, with detail changes only.

"This act did not demonetize silver *in words*, although it did so in effect. The silver dollar is not named in it.

Precisely what the act did was to authorize the coinage of silver half-dollars, quarter-dollars, and dimes below standard weight, and of a new silver coin for Asiatic commerce, of standard weight, to be called the 'trade dollar,' and to prohibit these coins from being legal tender for more than five dollars in any one payment." The act covers 15 pages of the United States statutes at large.

Mr. Horr had two opportunities to reply to Senator Stewart's severe indictment, but he never answered. Some time after the close of the debate he wrote to the *Tribune* a very long defense, but he does not deny or disprove the Senator's quotations of the expressions of the many distinguished men in the country, who voted on the bill, belonging to both sides of the silver question, but all sustaining the charge of the Senator.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

Ex-Governor John P. St. John, of Kansas, in answering the goldite silver dumping theory, said :

" I always say, let 'em dump—if they want to be so foolish. If they dump all the silver in the world here and take out all the gold, we would have \$60 per capita of standard money, every dollar worth 100 cents, while the rest of the world averaged about \$3 per capita in gold. The effect of such a transaction would be unexampled prosperity in this country and ruin and bankruptcy unparalleled in the others."

The truth is as Mr. St. John states. In fact if all the silver in the world, were delivered to the United States and [a silver certificate given therefore, it would give less money per capita in proportion to the cost of labor than France now uses.

No large amount of silver could come ; it would benefit us if it did come.

The United States, therefore, should stop the double robbery of her people required by a gold standard and vote free coinage alone.

The free coinage of silver would put an end to the contraction of the currency that has been going on for the past three years, would tend to raise prices and the profits of industry. It must, therefore, benefit labor by increasing not only wages, but opportunities for employment, which is in effect an addition to wages.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. If the workingmen find by experience that their wages are increasing or that their opportunities for obtaining employment have not fallen off, there is no good reason why they should not vote for the continuance of the present gold standard policy.

But if they            that times are harder, wages lower, more shut-down of factories, opportunities for employment

less, even in all lines of industry, whether subject to "protection" or not, and that these conditions always have been and must be produced by making the purchasing power of money greater, they will unquestionably vote for the free coinage of silver and the return of good times and better prices.

#### THE FIFTY-CENT DOLLARS.

The coinage of silver would not give us a "fifty-cent dollar." Under free coinage the value of silver bullion and silver coin would be the same. Such a thing as a dollar containing but fifty cents' worth of silver would be impossible, for 371 1-4 grains of silver bullion being convertible, into a silver dollar, by the government, free of charge, would be the exact equivalent of the dollar, just as at this time 232.2 grains of gold is the equivalent of a gold eagle. It is clear no one will sell 232.2 grains of gold for less than \$10, so long as he has the privilege to take it to the mint and receive a gold eagle in return. And so it is clear that if the same privilege was given the owner of silver bullion as the owner of gold bullion now enjoys, no one would sell 371 1-4 grains of silver for less than a dollar.

#### OUR FOREIGN DEBTS.

We would pay our debts abroad after the opening of our mints to silver just as we pay them now, with exports of merchandise, chiefly farm products. The only difference would be that we would get better prices for our exports.

The gold monometallists tell us that the free coinage of silver would contract our currency by one-third through forcing gold and all credits based on gold out of circulation, and thus cause prices to fall proportionately. If so, then the fall in prices would result in increasing the actual income of the foreign holders of American securities, who would receive three bushels of wheat and three pounds

of cotton where they now receive but two. If such was the result of free coinage, our foreign creditors would receive, not a dollar worth fifty cents of the present dollar but a dollar worth one hundred and fifty cents. Yet we are told that the prospect of this would cause foreign investors to unload their securities on our markets in a panic!

The Rev. Dr. T. De Witt Talmage says: "IF THE SILVER PEOPLE WIN, I BELIEVE THERE WILL BE SUCH A REVIVAL IN BUSINESS, SUCH A BOOMING IN INDUSTRIES, WHICH ARE NOW INACTIVE, AND SUCH A GENERAL SHAKING UP OF COMMERCIAL INTERESTS THAT THE COUNTRY WILL BE SURE TO PROSPER."

When the Republican convention at St. Louis declared for the maintenance of the "existing gold standard," wheat fell two cents a bushel, corn, oats, provisions and other products fell in price. Also London began unloading American stocks. The danger that the Republicans might win on a gold platform acted adversely on the price of stocks, which represent productive industries, and in favor of bonds and secured investments, consequently far sighted financiers unloaded stocks to invest in bonds or other secured interest-bearing investments.

#### THE QUESTION OF LOCAL COINAGE.

*We pay for foreign goods in gold weighed as bullion upon foreign scales. Our local coinage cuts no figure in foreign trade.*

If I melt a silver dollar to-day, I can sell it for only fifty cents; but if we had free coinage I could take the lump of silver to the mint and have it recoined.

Whether it restored the ancient parity or not, free coinage on a silver standard would *arrest the confiscation*



resulting from the *steady rise* of gold as the "measure" of our values. It would prevent in this free land the most gigantic scheme for confiscation ever known or dreamed of.

Li Hung Chang, the "Grand Old Man" of China, in a recent interview, said: "We have no coinage in China, but will soon introduce the free coinage of silver. We will be silver monometallists."

#### IS THE WORLD BEING FLOODED WITH SILVER.

Mr. Mulhall, the eminent English statistician, in his great work of 1892, at page 308, says: "The relative quantities of the two metals as shown above are given in the following table, which shows conclusively that it is a fallacy to suppose that the world is being flooded with silver." The table shows the following facts: In 1820 the relative total production of the metals was  $32\frac{2}{10}$  tons of silver for 1 ton of gold; in 1840,  $33\frac{1}{10}$  tons of silver for 1 of gold; in 1860,  $31\frac{6}{10}$  tons of silver for 1 of gold; in 1870,  $22\frac{6}{10}$  tons of silver for 1 of gold; in 1880,  $18\frac{6}{10}$  tons silver for one of gold, and in 1890,  $18\frac{7}{10}$  tons of silver for 1 of gold.

Baron Storch terms money "the marvelous instrument to which we are indebted for our wealth and civilization." Mr. Thorold Rogers has said: "Just as the development of language is essential to the intellectual growth of a people, so is a medium of exchange to civilization." Aristotle says of money, "that it exists not by nature but by law."

At the National Social Association in Liverpool, 1876, Cernuschi, the great French economist statistician, was called on by English financiers to answer certain questions. His replies to two of them were substantially as follows:

"1. The English sovereign will lose in value, its purchasing power will be impaired, if silver is allowed to circulate as an unlimited legal tender."

His reply to this was that if silver had never been in circulation, the value of gold would have been and would be greater than it is. But silver has always circulated, it has always competed with the value of; it still circulates, and the reduction which this rivalry might impose on the value of gold, gold has already fully undergone; it has nothing more to fear. Although silver has not circulated in England (except as subsidiary coin) the value of English gold has never escaped the effects of the competition of silver. The proof of this is that English gold has never been worth more than French gold, which circulated side by side with silver. With French bimetallism the gold sovereign was worth in silver  $15\frac{1}{2}$  times its weight, just the same as franc gold. The case will be the same under universal bimetallism. The circulation of silver in England will, therefore, strike no blow at the value of the sovereign.

2. Silver payments a breach of faith.

This Cernuschi declared a pitiful scruple. England, he said, had been in turn bimetallic, silver monometallic, again bimetallic and lastly gold monometallic, without drawing on herself the reproach of having at every change committed a breach of faith. Holland, Belgium and the United States have changed their monetary metal without incurring any blame. English interests, Indian interests, the interests of the whole world, demand this reform, which consists in declaring the coinage of silver free, even in England, and this reform will injure nobody. To reject it there must be good reasons, not mere pretexts or pitiful scruples.

Up to February 12, 1873, silver and gold had, for immemorial ages, been at a ratio of about  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, gold being mainly confined to its natural sphere or use of being the exchange money between nations, while silver was local money.

## CHAPTER XII.

## WHO WILL BE BENEFITED.

"When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of 'business man.' The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York."—*William J. Bryan.*

This simple and logical rule of political economy, acknowledged by all economic writers, is founded on ages of human experience. No wise capitalist will invest money in property or productive industries, or stocks representing productive industries, while prices are falling. He finds it more profitable to keep his money intact or invest it in bonds or other securities. When prices are falling the relative value of securities and money is proportionately increased. This accounts for the large over-subscription to the late bond sale, while productive industries, no matter how beneficial, were seeking for capital in vain.

When prices are rising the opposite is the result. Under such conditions it pays better to own real property or to invest money in productive industries or good stocks.

This is why the security holders and dealers in money are anxious to secure the permanent adoption of the gold standard. It would greatly enhance the relative value of their species of property. For a similar reason also the producing classes and those who own real property, such

as farms, live stock, lands, ships, houses, mines, manufactories, etc., who are familiar with this simple law of finance, favor the large supply of real money, which the adoption of the bimetallic standard will give. It will enhance the relative value of all real property and afford better prices for the products of labor.

The mercantile and carrier class will also be greatly benefited by the larger supply of money, because it will bring prosperity to the producing classes, with whom their own prosperity is closely linked. The working man will also be benefited because the increased consumption and production, which will follow better prices, will give him employment and better wages.

AS TO THE FARMER—WHEN THE FARMER PROSPERS ALL PROSPER.

“It is an old and true saying that ‘when the farmer is prosperous all other industries prosper.’ The reason is simple, and affords the strong reason, says the *Farm, Field and Fireside*, why the farmers should labor to secure the permanent restoration of silver as standard redemption money.

“The products of a farmer’s labor are his harvested crops, or marketable live stock. On the prices of these articles depends his prosperity. It requires no argument to demonstrate that with wheat at one dollar a bushel and the prices of other products in relative proportion, the farmer will enjoy greater prosperity than if he only got fifty cents a bushel for his products, even though he must pay in like proportion for what he has to buy.

“The fixed charges which he must pay are no higher with products on the dollar basis than on the fifty cents basis. Consequently, with products on the dollar basis a much larger surplusage remains after these charges are paid. This surplus he spends on machinery, household

goods, better clothing, books, etc., etc., thus increasing the demand for the products of those engaged in other lines of industry; in this way bringing prosperity to all who labor for their bread.

“The gold contractionists well understand this principle, and whatever their pretensions may be, they are seeking their own interest and not that of the industrial classes. They want more of the products of labor for their interest money. They know that the restoration of silver will raise the price of labor and of labor's products. It is this knowledge which inspired those favorite stock phrases, such as ‘debased currency’ and ‘fifty cent dollars.’ What they mean is that under a bimetallic standard the dollar will only buy half as much as it now does. In other words, it will only take half as much of labor's products to buy a dollar, while the amount of indebtedness or fixed charges which the dollar will pay remains unchanged.

“In this respect the Mexican producer has a great advantage over his American brother. The price of products have not depreciated in Mexico, but rather advanced. The Mexican farmer gets just as many, or even more, dollars for his products now than he did twenty years ago, and these dollars will pay just as much of his fixed charges. While the American farmer on the contrary only gets half as many dollars for his products, while at the same time it takes as many dollars as formerly to pay his fixed charges. In other words, the Mexican sells his products and pays his debts on a silver basis, while the American producer sells his products on a silver basis and pays his debts and other fixed charges on a gold basis. While the Mexican dollar has retained the same relative value as formerly the American dollar has doubled in purchasing power. So that it now takes twice as much of our products to buy one. Consequently Mexico is prosperous, while our own country is suffering the greatest depression in its history.”

## WHY VOTE?

First, to every farmer and producer, to every one who desires to engage in manufacturing or merchandising, or who expects to be employed by a manufacturer, it is for his interest to ignore other questions and make his vote tell against the gold despotism. His living depends on this. He cannot long keep his head above water at the rate gold has been appreciating and prices of all products going down. If a farmer, he sees the value going out of his land; if a manufacturer, his shops are either idle and empty or fast becoming so; if a merchant, he is doing a small amount of business and at a very small profit; if an employee in any one of these branches of business, he is much of the time out of work or on half pay.

*“Question—Suppose all debts be paid in fifty-cent silver dollars. Who would benefit?”*

*“Answer—Only the banks and bankers. No one else could.”—World, July 25.*

If only the banks and bankers are to profit by silver coinage, how happens it that every banker in the country has given out an interview to the newspapers, in which he declares that it is the poor depositors and wage-earners who will suffer by it?

The Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin says: “Monometallism, as we have it in Great Britain and Ireland, in Germany, and in so many other countries, tends to raise the value of gold, thereby favoring the interests of all capitalists, the interests of all those who have command of gold—money-lenders and the like—favoring all such persons at the expense of the general community, and favoring also the interests of all creditors, the interests of all who have a claim to receive a fixed money payment from others, favoring these at the expense of their unfortunate debtors.”

## BLOWING HOT ON GOLD AND COLD ON DIAMONDS.

The money-lenders of the world have been arranging matters for their own benefit for the past third of a century. They have "got together," and by their coöperating influences have driven silver money out of existence. They decided that the value of gold must be increased in the markets of the world, and that from 10 to 20 per cent. must be added thereto.

And now the diamond market is to be manipulated. It is practically controlled by South African moneyed men, who have concluded to arrange matters for their own benefit. They also have "got together," and propose to add 10 to 25 per cent. to the market value of diamonds throughout the earth.

The New York *Herald*, which approves of the increase of the value of gold, disapproves of this diamond combination. What's the difference? It lies in the fact that the appreciation of gold robs the laborer of his earnings, while the increase in the cost of diamonds only affects the well-to-do, who can afford to own diamonds.

## MINE OWNERS' PROFITS AND A DEBASED CURRENCY.

With characteristic disregard for the intelligence of the voters of this country, the gold contractionists continue in righteous agony to cry out the above paradox. It is the grand sachem of their argument, the *ne-plus ultra* of their calamity howl.

If the coinage of silver adds nothing to its purchasing power, then its owners can make no profit by passing such a measure. If, on the other hand, free coinage raises the purchasing power of silver, so that silver owners make the profit of 87 per cent., it follows that the assertions of silverites that coinage governs bullion values is correct. Hence the charge that free coinage means a depreciated

currency is unsound. The circulation of these two opposed statements, side by side, can hardly be expected to assist the cause of the gold contractionists.

“Stewart, the greatest of silverites, has iron-clad contracts with his debtors calling for ‘principal and interest in gold.’ At the same time he wants to unload the product of his silver mines at double the market price on the country at large. Stewart is a shrewd old plutocrat.”—*Gold Standard Argument*.

It is surprising how persons, without a just cause, cling to the fallacious argument that free silver would benefit the mine-owner. Everybody who gives a little thought to the subject knows that the silver miner would not be benefited unless a rise in the bullion value of silver should result from free coinage. But the opponents of silver have argued that no rise will take place—that the actual value of the silver dollar will remain at 53 cents. If the 53-cent-dollar theory is correct, it is manifest that a coined dollar will be of no more real value to the silver miner than his 53 cents’ worth of bullion. Free coinage does not sell the Government silver; it merely requires the Government to stamp it.

#### SAVINGS BANKS AND HONESTY.

“If free coinage would enable the savings banks to pay off their \$1,350,000,000 of deposits in 53-cent dollars and thereby make a profit of \$634,500,000, why is it that the heads of those banks, who are in business to make money, are so bitterly opposed to free coinage? Don’t they want to make all that profit?”—*Rocky Mountain News*.

“No! not in that way! The heads of our savings banks have ideas of honesty which do not seem to prevail among the Western silverites.”—*New York Sun*.

Does Mr. Dana imagine that the people of the United States are likely to believe that answer to be correct? They



know it to be false as truly as they know that it is the best answer which a great journal had in its power to make.

#### LIFE-INSURANCE POLITICS.

In view of the circular of the life insurance companies, saying that the free coinage of silver would rob policy holders of half their holdings, the following is significant and interesting:

Chairman Faulkner, of the Democratic Congressional Committee, received a letter from William J. McCord, of Washington, one of the leading life insurance experts of the United States, in which the following occurs:

“Several of the leading life insurance companies of this country are doing business in foreign countries, some of which are on a silver basis, the premiums on the policies being paid in the money then in use in that country. There is no complaint on the part of these claimants, for they have received a satisfactory consideration in return.

“Should these silver countries become gold standard countries, the premiums would then be paid in gold, and the claims upon the companies would be paid in the same standard of money. This principle has been fully demonstrated right here in our own country within the last twenty-five or thirty years. From a currency based alone on the credit of this country during and following the war, we gradually grew into a gold standard country. The companies lost nothing by the change, and the holders of policies lost nothing, for they paid their premiums in the money of the country before and after the transition from a paper currency to a gold standard. And a like condition would result if the standards of money were reversed.

“Some of these same life insurance companies are selling gold-bond policies guaranteeing 5 per cent. interest for a certain term, when the bond becomes due and is payable in gold. But the companies charge 14 per cent. more pre-

mium for this gold-bond policy than for an ordinary life insurance policy, and the premiums must be paid in gold.

"The life insurance companies have always adjusted themselves to the existing conditions. There is, therefore, no need of any alarm on the part of policy-holders, whether gold or silver wins in the great political battle of 1896."

Mr. Balfour in his celebrated speech at Manchester, said: "Money has to serve, not merely as a medium of exchange, but also as a 'fair and permanent record of obligations extending over long periods of time.' In this, which he rightly called a 'great and fundamental requirement,' our existing currency, as he declared with emphasis, 'totally and lamentably fails.'

"To make good this statement, Mr. Balfour pointed out that the gold monetary standard of Great Britain and Ireland has, in some fifteen or sixteen years, gone up in value no less than 30 or 35 per cent.; and he went on to say that, of its further progressive appreciation, or rise in value 'no man living can prophecy the limits.'

"Again he spoke of the increase in value of our present monometallist gold standard of value as 'progressing steadily, continuously, indefinitely.'

"As to the result of all this upon the community generally, Mr. Balfour expressed himself as follows:

"'If you will show me a system which gives . . . absolute permanence, I will take it in preference to any other. But of all conceivable systems of currency, that system is assuredly the worst, which gives you a standard steadily, continuously, indefinitely appreciating, and which by that very fact throws a burden upon every man of enterprise, upon every man who desires to promote the agricultural or the industrial resources of the country, and benefits no human being whatever but the owner of fixed debts in gold.'

## CHEPTEr XIII.

HONEST MONEY IS IMPOSSIBLE EXCEPT THROUGH FREE  
COINAGE OF BOTH METALS—A CLEAR VIEW THROUGH  
INCONTROVERTABLE FACTS.

“Our silver dollar has, at present, very nearly the same purchasing power in foreign countries that it has here. It is not current there, but it can be sold to money changers at a small discount from its nominal value, just as greenbacks and bank notes can be.”

THE Hon. T. E. Willson in the New York *Journal* says:  
“Never has the mind of man conceived of any way by which an honest coin could be issued except by ‘free coinage,’ and never has any full legal tender coin been issued by any government on earth under compulsory coinage laws, or in any way other than by free coinage, that was not a dishonest coin; a base coin issued fraudulently for the benefit of money manipulators.

“In 1691–93 King James II. coined his cannon into full legal tender money for Ireland, and this ‘gun money,’ as it was called, was the last dishonest legal tender money ever coined ‘on government account’ by any civilized country of the world until our own mint bought metal in the market at \$60 per 100 ounces and coined \$129 from it in ‘gun money’ dollars, under compulsory coinage laws, which compelled the people to accept them at their face value as full legal tender, in the same way King James II. compelled the Irish people to accept his ‘gun money.’ King William is still thanked on each July 12th by every loyal Irishman for having saved his country from this curse

of 'brass money,' coined 'on government account;' and the whole end and object of the silver movement in the West, from its inception to the present moment, has been and is to save his country from the curse of these 'gun money' silver dollars coined 'on government account,' with which we have been overwhelmed at the demand of the banks and bankers.

"From 1792 to 1878 all our legal tender coinage was honest—it was free coined. Every free coined dollar, silver or gold, was worth as much in bar as in coin. Since that time a large part of our coinage has been deliberately dishonest, coined intentionally as 'gun money,' at the demand of the bankers, to swindle the people. How and why are matters of incontrovertible history.

"In 1862-69 we had two full legal tender currencies in this country—an irredeemable fiat paper currency issued on 'government account,' worth fifty cents on the dollar and a free coined metal currency at par. The paper currency had been forced upon us by the bankers that they might skin the business man. If he shipped \$1,000 worth of goods to London, drew on his London buyer 'at sight' and took the drafts to a banker, the latter said: 'Gold is quoted to-day at 150 and your draft is worth \$666, but when it is paid gold may be 160 and your draft worth only \$624. Suppose we call it \$635 and the usual charges.' It was a 'shave' of \$31, but the business man had to submit. He was caught in this trap both going and coming, not only on every international transaction, small or large, but on all domestic exchange of credits—in every transaction with a bank or banker. The bank or banker had a standard yardstick of metal with which to measure his receipts; a variable one of paper to measure his payments.

"The business world demanded 'resumption.' The bankers fought it—naturally. Never before anywhere in the world had such gigantic fortunes been piled up so

quickly in the banking business as here under the two-standard system.

“In 1871, when every one expected resumption in a very few months, the greatest financier of this or any age outlined to a few members of the gold board how resumption could be gelded by splitting the two metals and substituting a compulsory coined silver dollar—a ‘gun money’ dollar—that would be full legal tender and irredeemable for the greenbacks. Silver then had no friends. Its production had dropped from 50 to 1 in 1800 to 5 to 1. We had none in coinage. No one would pay the slightest attention to the attack on it. Asked for particulars, he outlined the course afterward pursued.

“The limitations of space will not permit even of an outline of the details of what Secretary Carlisle denounced in February, 1878, as ‘the greatest conspiracy of this or any age,’ which involved for every bimetallic country in the world the closing of its mints to the free coinage of silver dollars and the giving of its bankers two standards—a free coined gold standard that would be fixed and a variable silver standard, which would enable them to skin the people as our greenbacks and metal money enabled our bankers to skin us. The other countries had the full legal tender silver; we had to coin ours.

“In 1878, a few weeks before resumption, against the protests of the free coinage men, our mints coined ‘on government account,’ at a profit to the mint, more silver dollars—gun-money 50-cent dollars—than had been coined of honest 100-cent dollars in seventy years under free coinage, or than would have been coined under free coinage between 1870 and 1940. And the ‘compulsory law’ poured this flood of gun-money for the banks and bankers on the business world at the rate of \$2,000,000 per month for eleven years. In 1890, at the demand of the bankers, the silver men vainly protesting, it was increased to \$4,000,000

per month, until the banks had enough. Then it was stopped.

“This gun-money now amounts to \$550,000,000, and these 50-cent dollars are the unlimited legal tender and lawful money of the United States; in which every dollar on deposit in our savings banks, and every obligation of national and State banks, has been paid for three years past, and in which every dollar will be paid when the banks force us to a silver basis. Every bank note or treasury note or greenback in circulation is payable in them; every debt due to or by the Government is payable in them; and no bank or banker in the United States has on deposit one gold dollar to use in payment of notes, debts or obligations, or for any purpose except to sell to the treasury, or to private persons. We are on a ‘specie basis,’ but the only specie in which banks redeem is silver. The gun-money is the only money in circulation.

“The banks and bankers have to-day identically the same condition they had in 1868—an irredeemable silver dollar, worth 50 cents, that is unlimited legal tender, and a gold dollar at par—two standards by which they can skin the people. They are fighting to-day to retain this 50-cent dollar which gives them two standards, as they fought in 1868 to retain the greenback 50-cent dollar, which gave them two standards. They want it for a year or two more until they can force us to a silver basis. By every means money can buy they are trying to befog the issue, to hoodwink the people, and to cast discredit upon the silver men who demand that the silver dollar shall be made the equal of the gold dollar in the only way that it can be so made—by free coinage. The banks and bankers pretend they are in favor of honest money; but it is only pretense. They will consider no proposition to make this 50-cent dollar the same value as a gold dollar. ‘There is nothing to consider,’ Mr. Whitney told us in 1892. The banks and

bankers have spent too much money, time and labor forcing upon this country its present curse of gun-money silver preparatory to forcing us to an open silver basis in 1898, to listen to any objections.

“But some ill-informed persons say we are now on a gold basis. This is not true. Not a bank or banker has paid out anything but silver for three years. We are on a silver basis electroplated with gold, the electroplating requiring the treasury to purchase \$130,000,000 yearly of gold to supply the gold for the battery.

“We have outstanding \$1,091,000,000 in national bank notes, greenbacks and other paper money, every dollar of which is redeemable in gun-money silver coins. All business is transacted in these notes, which have behind them 550,000,000 silver dollars, and not one dollar of gold by law; and only \$100,000,000 (gold) in the treasury to gold-plate them until the banks are ready to force silver payment.

“The only thing that keeps us from dropping to a ‘silver basis,’ with all the evils of an irredeemable fluctuating paper currency, intensified by its redemption in a fluctuating silver coin, is this small gold reserve in the treasury, used to redeem greenbacks and treasury ‘coin’ notes of 1890, neither of which are redeemable by law in gold. At any time, within one hour, the banks and bankers of this city can force us on the same silver basis as Mexico, Colombia or Bolivia, by offering enough of their ‘cash’ deposits for redemption to absorb the small amount of gold in the treasury. That they do not is merely an act of grace. The intention is to force the whole world, except the two gold countries—England and Germany—to accept the two standards in banking, and some bimetallic countries are not yet ready for the signal to be given. They will be in another year or two.

The banks hold property in pledge for deposits of

\$5,000,000,000 worth that amount in gold or twice in fifty cent dollars. They will make a clear profit \$5,000,000,000 by placing us on a silver basis and paying depositors in gun-money. They declare this gun-money, fifty-cent dollar to be 'sound money' and insist that any man who objects to the present fifty-cent dollar in which they pay depositors is a maniac, a fool, an anarchist. Allan McDermott would hang the 'pirate' who wants a silver dollar worth one hundred cents. E. Ellery Anderson wants to 'shoot down' the American who objects to the two standards the banks are fighting for, and which only the banks can profit by. Andrew D. White is more merciful, he would only imprison them for life.

"It is this view of the subject that has converted millions of voters to the free coinage of silver. They do not care for silver. It is the dishonest coinage on Government account of legal tender gun-money for the banks to pay depositors in to which they object. They do not want more silver dollars, but that those already dishonestly coined shall be made honest. They demand one standard of measure of all values in place of the two standard measures now in use by the banks. If the measure must be made of two metals they demand that each measure shall be made of the same length and in the same way—that the Government shall not free coin one dollar one hundred cents long, and compulsory coin another dollar fifty cents long. If it were practicable they would demand the use of one metal, gold, and the throwing into the sea of the gun-money in circulation issued at the demand of the banks for them to swindle depositors with; but that being impossible, they demand the only available remedy they know of, or that has ever been suggested, free coinage, until some one proposes something else that will remove this curse."



## HOW WILL FREE COINAGE ACTUALLY WORK?

Professor Van Buren Denslow, of the college of Social Economics, in the *New York Journal*, says: "The statements of the effects of passing to a silver basis are so contradictory and incoherent as to show that the problem seriously overtasks the wits of many who are trying not so much to throw light upon it as to use the moment of confusion in a manner to accomplish some ulterior purpose of their own. For instance, while 'Matthew Marshall,' in the *Sun*, says: 'if the country goes to the silver standard every farm and lot of land now valued at \$10,000 will be valued at \$20,000, and the price of every bushel of wheat now worth fifty cents will be \$1, and other necessities of life will rise in like proportion,' it is plain that he has not conferred with the editor of the *New York Press*, who says that one-half the value of our one thousand million dollars in silver currency—viz., \$500,000,000—'would be destroyed at the moment that the election of Bryan and a free silver House was announced.' If the land and wheat are to go up 100 per cent, as the *Sun* claims, how can the coined silver dollar go down 50 per cent? The first supposition is based on the assumption that land and wheat would go up because the silver dollar had become the par at least of our interior commerce, with the assumed effect of sending gold to a premium, and that land and wheat would go up with gold, a thing in itself sufficiently unlikely, because wheat would lag behind gold in its rise, and land would lag so far behind that its gold price would decline. But if the silver dollar thus becomes the par of our internal commerce, it necessarily becomes the assumed 'fixed point,' by which all rise and fall in price would be measured. A par cannot go either up or down. It is like the painted figures on the side of the thermometer, by which rise and fall of the mercurial gold will thenceforth

be measured. To say that the eleven hundred million dollars of our silver based currency would instantly lose half its value is to vacate the chair of reflection utterly, and to begin to use profane language.

“When the United States, in 1862, with about \$50,000,-000 coin in the treasury, undertook to declare that \$300,-000,000 of fiat Government notes should be equal dollar for dollar for certain purposes, with any coined dollar in the treasury, it did not happen that these notes all sank in a day to 16 2-3 cents each, which they would have done if they were worth in all only the value which was in the treasury for their payment. They fell a cent or two in the first two or four months, and in midsummer, when the battle of Bull Run was lost, the premium on gold rose to about twelve, indicating a value in the notes of about 91 per cent.

“So the utmost that could happen ‘instantly’ or speedily would be that gold would rise to a slight premium in silver, as after 1862, both gold and silver rose to a premium in greenbacks. Her von Kardooft, of Wabnitz, Germany, who says that Dr. Otto Arendt and Count von Mirbach are with him in his views as a bimetallist, declares very intelligently that Cleveland’s purchases of gold with bonds (which McKinley would have to continue if he should succeed Cleveland as President), lead as inevitably, though a little more indirectly, to a premium on gold, and to a higher premium than would be attained by the direct Bryan route through the free coinage of silver. He says:

“‘I further believe that the credit of the United States would be improved, not impaired, by such a policy, whereas, the maintenance of the present system would necessitate continuous and heavy loans of gold, which must ultimately lead to a gold premium. Such a prospect may not be entirely unwelcome to the large banking

houses, but it would under any circumstances imply a weakening of the credit of a people—even though it should appear to result from the failure of the attempt to maintain a gold standard.

“Free coinage of silver would have the opposite effect, namely,—it would begin by producing a gold premium, which would, in my opinion, rapidly disappear.”

“McKinley, on the money question, takes Cleveland’s old assets, which are chiefly blunders, and which include no gold revenue whatever and no means of getting gold except by buying it either with bonds or with greenbacks. Either plan involves a premium on gold relatively to silver of some dimension, and no man is competent to say exactly what course that premium will take or how high it will be or how long it will continue.

“Many persons imagine that if the free coinage of silver shall be enacted every person who owes a \$20,000 debt can forthwith, by some hocus-pocus of exchange, pay it off with \$10,000 in value. This can never be done in the concrete, nor will debts ever be paid under free silver coinage in a manner to which creditors will be found objecting. Mortgage creditors who had loaned in 1859 did not object nor feel swindled in 1864, when asked to take their pay in greenbacks, though in fact the purchasing power of the greenbacks in which they were paid was less than half what the purchasing power of the gold or silver loaned would have been, if either could have been claimed and got in 1864.

“But to lenders of money its purchasing power is unimportant. What they are after is its earning power, and this in 1864, owing to the increased activities of trade and production, was at least twice, often fourfold, greater than it was in the period of partial paralysis of industry from 1854 to 1861.

“Hence lending capitalists in 1864, with gold at a

premium of 112, were glad to take pay on their old loans in greenbacks, with only 47 cents on the dollar, because the decline in their purchasing power relatively to commodities was more than paid for by the marvelous increase in their earning power (per cent. per annum), owing to the greater impetus of trade and the greater profits which could everywhere be made in business. It was in this 'fifty-cent dollar' period that nearly all the 'deep thinkers' who are now so scornful toward the 'fifty-cent dollar' passed or 'shot up' from menials into millionaires.

"Until gold went to a premium, John D. Rockefeller's services were worth about a dollar and a half a day. In 1867 he was ready to found the Standard Oil Company. The editors and owners of the *Evening Post* slid from army correspondents into railroad purchasers on a fifty-cent dollar. Andrew Carnegie, in all his profound self-regardfulness and deep attachment to gold, slid upward from poverty to forty millions on the 'fifty-cent' dollar.

"I assume that whether McKinley or Bryan shall be elected, the free coinage of bonds to buy gold with will stop, and that while the greenback issue are out there can be no gold revenues collected, and hence that the treasury must run dry of gold and pay silver, and that when we begin to pay silver as par we will simultaneously begin to coin silver freely, and gold will pass to some premium.

"Will it then be in the power of a debtor to take \$10,000 in any form and pay a debt of \$20,000 with it instantly?

"I answer No! Not at all, nor at any time.

"If he takes \$10,000 in gold and holds it on special deposit until that \$10,000 in gold climbs to 100 per cent. premium in coined American silver dollars, then, if that event ever happens, he may. But that event may not happen in twelve years, in which case his loss of interest would be \$10,000, and may never happen at all.

"If he takes his \$10,000 into Mexico to buy \$20,000 in Mexican dollars, to bring them to the United States mint to be recoinced into American dollars, he will find that brokers have long since run Mexican dollars up to par in anticipation of just this demand. The same would be true of Honduras, Costa Rica, Colombian and all other South American silver dollars containing as much silver as ours.

"The whole silver coinage of European nations would afford him no opportunity for speculation, for that is all at par now, though it is all coined at a ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, and consequently, in bringing it here, he would have to add three cents per dollar more of silver to get the same coinage value in America as it has in Europe. This amounts to a fine of three per cent. on the recoinage of European silver in America. He cannot pay off his \$20,000 debt with \$10,000 in gold or silver coin by buying the product of silver mines anywhere unless that product shall remain at the same price it is now in the face of the offer of the United States to coin it all up into American silver dollars. This, of course, it could not do. Would the market price of silver bullion and of all old silver used in the arts be jammed peremptorily up to par? Let us see.

"The old silver which has been used in the arts, in plate, jewelry, watches, prize cups, coats of arms, etc., is already far above its coinage value by virtue of the artistic labor, grace and beauty which have been combined with it.

"The old silver which has been used in coinage is already at par with gold throughout Europe and Asia, and is only at its bullion value in a few Central and South American governments which have no stock of it, at the best, to speak of, and whose minute supplies of coin would bound up to par, or near it, without an effort, if free coinage were enacted in the United States.

"Hence, what is called 'the world's silver' furnishes

no supply whatever for the American mints from the held over stock. The whole supply of silver for coinage would be the annual product henceforth.

"I hold that the United States would lose all of the highest advantages of giving free coinage to silver if such action should result in forcing silver immediately to an absolute parity with gold, so that European peoples would immediately take our coined silver at par with gold and so that all the silver we coin would immediately be freely exportable at its coinage value like gold. This would, indeed, end the silver question, but in a manner which would be equally to the advantage of all the world at once.

"Silver coinage will work its best effects in the United States only on condition that other nations lag behind, and only, therefore, while silver is at a discount of from 5 to 20 per cent. This should last for a sufficient number of years to ensure a considerable expansion of the silver circulation in the United States through the new coinage.

"Otherwise we would not get that active stimulus to our grain cultivation, our export trade in manufactured goods to the silver using countries, or our mining and manufacturing prosperity which the active expansion in volume of a non-exportable currency is calculated to create.

"At this point comes Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of one of our bureaus of statistics, and assists me by remarking that since 1892 our exports of silver in settlement of foreign balances have risen from \$32,810,559 to \$59,862,956. He says: 'To open the mints to unlimited coinage of silver at any ratio lower than the commercial ratio would at once [destroy this export interest. Instead of being sent abroad, all the silver would be coined, and in such form that it would be as inexportable as the green-back or national bank note. As one of the means of paying foreign exchanges, of settling for imports, its useful-

ness would be destroyed, and some other domestic product must be found to take its place. Either gold or merchandise must be sent abroad to make good this deficiency of more than \$46,000,000, equal to more than one-twentieth of the entire exports of merchandise in 1895.

"If there are no domestic products to be exported to make good the deficiency of \$46,000,000 arising from depriving silver of its exportable character, there remains only gold which can be used in settlement of foreign exchanges. Instead, therefore, of lightening the demand for gold, free coinage at any ratio other than the market ratio, would increase it. Instead of exporting \$125,000,000 in gold each year there must be exported \$171,000,000."

"But coining silver does not appear to absolutely terminate its use for export. For the nine months ending with March, 1896, the silver exported amounted to \$45,216,070, of which the silver coin formed \$6,733,531, and the silver bullion was \$38,482,539.

"Whatever were the reasons which caused more than one-sixth of the export to be coin would probably apply with many times more force if free coinage should have the effect to lift silver bullion and the small stocks of silver coins held in the Central and South American States, as it most certainly would, to par, or nearly to par with gold.

"I should hope, however, that Mr. Ford's fear would in part be realized. He is probably the first to regard the sending of a money metal uncoined out of a country to pay for products created abroad as more fortunate for the industries and welfare of its people than the circulation of the same quantity of metal in the country as money with the necessary effect of enhancing the prices and stimulating the production of those very commodities, the production of which the previous lack of the influence of this money over prices had discouraged at home, and which the

advent of this same metal in the form of money in other countries would encourage them to produce. He certainly must have forgotten Hume's eloquent tribute to the fertilizing power of money.

"Mr. Ford's idea is, perhaps, borrowed from that of King George during our colonial days. He held that the colonists would do better not to carry the manufacture of iron beyond the stage of pig, nor wool beyond the stage of yarn, nor leather beyond the stage of tanning; if they did they would have no exports of pig iron, wool and leather. The use of money as coin, in paying for innumerable services in agriculture, manufactures and commerce in our own country is as much more stimulating to a country's industries than it is to send it away to be coined up elsewhere as the use of calfskin and corn husks in making books to be read by the American people is more stimulating to their minds than it is to export the calf and corn husks to help make books for other nations.



## CHAPTER XIV.

FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES—SOME CLEARLY STATED AND  
FORCEFUL TRUTHS FROM THE SHORT FINANCIAL CATE-  
CHISM OF W. K. CARR.

"It is a fact admitted by all students that any great government—like that of the United States, or England, or France, or Germany—whose exports exceed its imports, can maintain its money on a par with that of any other nation, regardless of the material from which it is made, so long as it is a full legal tender, receivable for every debt. Whether the money is made redeemable in coin or not, is of no consequence."

*When is a thing said to be valuable, or to have value?*

When humanity esteems a thing, and desires to reduce it to possession, that thing is said to have value, *provided it is of limited quantity.*

*Is human desire alone sufficient to give value to a thing?*

No; it must be limited in quantity. The air, for instance, is absolutely necessary to life. It is something which every one must have; yet on account of its abundance it cannot be said to have value.

*What is meant by value when applied to gold?*

It means that it has a value *in exchange*, nothing more. If money—gold or silver—could not exchange for the labor and the products of man's labor it would not be valuable. Value in exchange is the only value it possesses. If you think that it has "intrinsic value"—that is, a value which resides or inheres in it, and which cannot change—imagine yourself on a desert island laden down with gold. If no food were there for which you could exchange it, you

should surely starve, and hence the gold could not be of the slightest value to you. Value, then, is the rate at which your gold or silver will exchange for something. Hence, value is a mental conception, a ratio, and is *extrinsic* instead of *intrinsic*. To declare simply that an ounce of gold is worth \$20 is just as absurd as to say that the ratio of 10 is 8. When you hear a man use the word value ask yourself, Value in what? In relation to what? It must be in relation to something, and if the proposition is stated in such a way that that something cannot be supplied, you may be sure that he is speaking without determinate ideas.

*Then gold has no intrinsic value, no value which resides in it, and which cannot change?*

No; it has no value, save value in exchange. A gold dollar will exchange, let us say, for the labor of one man one day here in America. Take it to Germany, it will exchange for the labor of two men one day. Take it to India, it will exchange for the labor of fifteen men one day. Now, you can readily see that the value of gold *has* changed, and that therefore it cannot have "*intrinsic value*."

*Why, if "intrinsic value" is an absurdity, do you find so many intelligent people declaring for it?*

Intelligent (?) people declare for a great many absurd things, but it is always through ignorance or selfish motives. There is absolutely no excuse for the existence of the "*intrinsic value*" idea, since practically all political economists, whether gold monometallists, or bimetallicists, teach that "*intrinsic value*" is an absurdity. A thing can have intrinsic qualities, such, for instance, as hardness, weight, ductility, etc., which will always inhere in it, and which cannot be changed, but "*intrinsic value*," never. The term is a contradiction and an absurdity.

*What does the gold contractionist declare to be the intrinsic*

*sic value of silver—that is, the value which resides in silver and which cannot change?*

About fifty cents per ounce, yet at the same time he admits that if silver were remonetized it would rise in value. So this new, *changed* value would be an additional “intrinsic value”—that is, a value which cannot change. The whole thing is utterly absurd on its face, yet it is with such puerile contradictions as arguments that the gold advocates attempt to advance their cause.

*Upon what other fallacy do our opponents constantly ring the changes?*

“Cost of production.” They say that a gold dollar is worth a dollar because it costs a dollar to produce it. But this is not true, because if the Government should issue uncovered paper money the value of the gold dollar would be instantly reduced—that is, prices would rise, yet the cost of producing the gold would remain the same. Again, the majority of all the gold in the world has been found in “placers” (the gravel deposits of old river beds) where the cost of production has been as nothing in comparison with the value of the metal. Here is an illustration. It is an extract from a letter written in 1848 by the late distinguished general of the army, Gen. W. T. Sherman, then a captain, stationed at Monterey, Cal. The letter appeared in the *New York Tribune*, April 7, 1892:

“This gold is found in the beds of streams, in dry quarries; in fact, mingled with the earth over a large extent of country. Men are now getting from their individual labor from \$5,000 to \$8,000 a month. This is not a fiction. It is the truth. I went with Governor Mason and saw the evidence of it myself.”

What now becomes of your theory of “cost of production” when a green soldier, without a cent of capital invested or any experience, can make \$8,000 a month? Will not people continue to exchange goods for pennyweights of

gold without giving a thought to the cost of production of the metal?

*Can paper money be made as valuable as gold?*

Certainly. By limiting its quantity sufficiently you can make it *more* valuable than gold. Take the case of a country which has been doing business on a range of prices based on the existence of a billion and a half of legal tender money—gold, silver, and paper. Now, suppose that all this should be swept away by legislation, and in its stead the Government should issue just ten thousand paper dollars, and should make them, and them only, legal tender; can anybody deny that the fall in prices would be fearful—that is, that these dollars would rise in value just as the prices of commodities fell, and that each paper dollar would purchase many hundred times as much as the finer gold dollar? Certainly not, and yet we are told that the cost of production determines the value of money. Practically, all political economists deny that the cost of production has anything to do with the value of money.

*The Honorable and very eminent Secretary of Treasury, John G. Carlisle, has recently stated that the value of the metal makes the coin; why is this not true?*

When the law permits a metal to go to the mint to be stamped into money, then the instant that metal is taken from the earth it becomes potentially money. Take away its privilege of going to the mint and receiving the money stamp, and you take from the metal its demand as money, and instantly it becomes a commodity, obeying, like all other commodities, the inexorable law of supply and demand. The commodity value of gold must be judged by its commodity use. There are 180,000,000 ounces of gold in the world, 3,000,000 of which are used annually in the arts and sciences, or as a commodity. Suppose, now, that you demonetize gold—that is, take away its demand as money, and reduce it to the level of a com-

modity; you would have sixty years' supply on hand, and with such a supply who would have the temerity to deny that gold would fall to 20 or 30 cents per ounce? What indeed, would other commodities, those possessing invaluable intrinsic *qualities*, such as wheat, cotton and iron, be worth with a sixty years' supply on hand? They would be practically valueless.

*Can law create value?*

No; but law can create a demand; which is the very essence of value. Suppose the law should give to a thing a demand so great that the entire population of a country should seek night and day to reduce it to possession, surely that thing would come to have great value. Let us see. I have in my hand a crude lump of silver. What is its value? Let us first see what demand there is for it. I go about the city offering to exchange it for services or commodities. Nobody wants it. Everybody tells me that the demand for it is limited, and that out of all the thousands in this great city I shall not find a soul who wants it save probably a few silversmiths. I go to see them, and after disputing over the price—its value in exchange—I sell it. As a matter of course, the price of this lump of silver is small, because the demand for it is limited. But suppose I had taken it to the mint and had the Government stamp it; or suppose a law in force that would have *allowed* me to do so, how tremendously altered would have been the situation. Instead of having to work to get rid of it, why, millions and millions of free-born American citizens would be bidding for it, offering night and day their commodities and their services. But would they want it because it was silver? Not at all. They would want it because it was legal tender. The instant you make even paper legal tender that instant do you throw upon it an unlimited demand, and its value enhances accordingly. And so with gold. People do not want gold because it is gold, but because it is legal tender.

*If the legal tender quality of silver dollars makes them good in this country, why are they not good abroad?*

They are good abroad—the gold contractionist to the contrary notwithstanding. If you believe that our silver dollars are worth in Europe their bullion value only, imagine yourself in London with a thousand of them for sale. Who would buy them? Probably a wheat importer. What would he give for them; fifty cents on the dollar? Nonsense. Why, in that case he could send the thousand dollars to the United States and exchange them for just as many bushels of wheat, or manufactured goods, or labor, as if he had used gold dollars. Are you going to allow him to make \$500 on the exchange of the money alone? Again I beg to repeat that money has no value save value in exchange.

*If there were no commodities to exchange for it money would be valueless.*

This seems to be a tough lesson for the gold advocates to learn. It does not make a particle of difference out of what material the money of a country is made. It will always be as good as gold in any foreign country to the extent of the exports of that country.

*How about Mexican dollars in Europe?*

Here the case is different. Mexico's export trade with Europe is exceedingly small. That country raises very little that Europe wants, and practically nothing that Europe cannot do without; hence abroad Mexican dollars are not much in demand. Now I think it is plain enough why our silver dollar is worth more than the silver dollar of Mexico. In all civilized countries there is a demand for American silver dollars not because they are made of silver, *but because they will exchange in America for just as much wheat, cotton, labor, and manufactured goods as gold dollars.* But the Mexican dollar, I beg to repeat, is not as valuable solely because that country does *not produce the commodities for which its money can be exchanged.*

*So that is what is meant by the cheap dollar of Mexico?*

Yes; but as that dollar within the limits of that country performs all the legitimate functions of money, it is an absolutely sound dollar. It purchases just as much labor and the products of labor as the gold dollar did in 1873, and if the silver dollar of Mexico is now a fraudulent dollar, so must have been the gold dollar of 1873. In other words, prices have not fallen in Mexico. Silver has held its own in relation to labor and the products of labor. Silver has not fallen in value, but gold has risen. Silver measured in terms of commodities will buy quite as much now as in 1873. An ounce of silver bought a bushel of wheat in 1873, and an ounce of silver will buy a bushel of wheat now. While a gold dollar, on the other hand, will buy twice as much, nearly, as in 1873. Gold has risen, but as long as you measure it in *terms of itself it apparently remains unchanged*. But you can no more fool the people by stating the value of gold in terms of itself than you can an engineer by tying the figures one hundred to the hand of his steam gauge. It is just as silly to do the one as the other.

But before attaching too much importance to this expression "cheap money," let us look into it and see what it means. Cheap and dear are relative terms. When we say that money is cheap, we mean that money is cheap in relation to labor and the products of labor which are dear; and when we say that money is dear, we mean in relation to labor and the products of labor which are cheap. Dear money, then, means low prices for labor and the products of labor; cheap money, higher prices for labor and the products of labor. Better times cannot come except with higher prices, and higher prices mean a cheapening of money. The man who tells you he wants the "best money"—that is, the money that will buy the most—"and good times," which mean advancing prices, is a

lunatic; because he wants both sides of the scales to go up at the same time. Bear in mind always these two very important points: first, that a rise in price means a cheapening of money—taking less labor and the products of labor to buy a dollar; and second, that a fall in price means a rise in the value of money—taking more labor and the products of labor to buy a dollar. And so if dollars were very scarce it might come to pass that the labor of one man for one month would be no more than sufficient to buy a dollar. Indeed, all we should have to do to bring about such a condition would be to contract the volume of money sufficiently. If there were only one thousand legal tender dollars in circulation in the country who doubts but that one of them would buy a whole block of city property? The property and labor of the world are measured against its money, and the ratio at which they exchange is called *price*. Reduce, then, the volume of money, and, all things remaining equal, to reduce prices. Likewise, if you increase the volume of money you raise prices.

And now we come to the quantitative theory of money, which means that the quantity of money (demand and supply remaining the same) determines the value, or purchasing power of the money unit, which with us is the dollar. Now, as a dollar is valuable solely for what it will purchase, it becomes absolutely necessary, if we want to keep labor employed and preserve the equities of contracts, that we should keep the value or purchasing power of the money unit as nearly steady as possible. How can this be done? By keeping the volume of money steady. In this country we are now using an international money, gold, and are suffering all the terrible consequences that invariably attend it. Europe has us absolutely in her grasp. She can do with prices here pretty much as she pleases, and bring on a panic any time she sees fit. By withdrawing



her loans she decreases the volume of money—prices fall—that is, the money unit, the dollar, increases in purchasing power, and every man who owes a dollar will have to give more labor, or the products of labor, to get hold of the dollar with which to pay his debt. Hence the equity of every time contract in the country is disturbed. And when one bears in mind the fact that our debt in Europe amounts to \$5,000,000,000, it is readily seen that we can never pay it unless our creditors so will it. Eighty per cent. of this debt is paid in wheat and cotton. Yet at what prices! They are already below the cost of production except in the most favored parts of the United States, and that they will fall much lower no one doubts. Europe can, by withdrawing her loans, so contract the volume of money here, and so increase the purchasing power of our money unit—the dollar—that all of our exportations of wheat and cotton would not buy enough dollars to pay the interest due her. It has almost reached that stage now. If we sell wheat and cotton at high prices to England a good deal of money will stack up in London to our credit, and we can draw on this money by selling bills of exchange to people who have to pay debts abroad. But suppose we get very low prices for our wheat and cotton, as we do now, then but little money will stack up to our credit in London—not enough to pay our debts abroad in bills of exchange as before, and a deficit results. How is this to be paid? Our products do not bring enough to pay it, and so but one thing remains to be done—issue more bonds, borrow more gold and settle the balance. This is the present situation in a nutshell. But not only with wheat and cotton; every other product of human labor is more or less affected. Our political independence is an empty boast as long as we cling to a system which permits Europe to drive down prices here, invest in all our securities at ruinously low rates, and then by increasing the volume of money here

drive prices up, and gather in the tremendous profits. We are more truly a dependence of Great Britain to-day than we were prior to 1776.

*If money, then, is a standard and a measure of value a fluctuation in its volume would work great injury, would it not?*

Certainly; when a majority of the debts of the United States were contracted we had a certain amount of standard money (gold and silver), and a certain range of prices due to the existence of this volume of money. The people who held these debts, being well acquainted with the law of price, argued among themselves after this fashion: Let us reduce the volume of legal tender money, prices must fall, and we who hold the "promises to pay" can buy with our dollars *more* labor and the products of labor. How can it be done? By demonetizing silver. And when they did this they cut the volume of money in half, and, according to the law, prices fell one-half. In demonetizing silver they threw the entire money demand upon gold, and gold, with the demand for it doubled, doubled in price—that is, in purchasing power, so that now a gold dollar will buy double the quantity of commodities that it formerly did. The man who at this time repays a dollar borrowed twenty-five years ago parts with one as valuable again as the one loaned him. This process acts continuously, and is draining the life blood of the whole nation. As the volume of money does not keep pace with the increase in population, a contraction is going on all the time, as witnessed by the never-ceasing fall in prices; so that a man who but one year ago borrowed a dollar, and to-day has to return it, owing to a fall of 8 per cent. in prices, parts with a dollar 8 per cent. more valuable than the one loaned him. And yet they call this gold standard an honest standard. It is legalized highway robbery, pure and simple.

## ECONOMIC LAWS.

The underlying economic laws are these :

- (1) Supply and demand ultimately regulate prices.
- (2) An unlimited demand for an article limited in quantity at an arbitrary price establishes its minimum price. It may rise above that figure, but cannot fall below it.

Apply these principles to the single gold standard and the following propositions will be unimpeachable.

1. Since 1873 gold has risen in value 100 per cent. and silver and all other commodities have fallen 50 per cent.
2. Under the gold standard gold must continue to appreciate and other commodities repreciate.
3. These conditions benefit the holders of realized riches, and persons with fixed incomes, and tend to hard times, the impoverishment of the many and the bankruptcy of the debtor class.
4. Hence a return to the bimetallic standard is desirable.

## FINANCIAL FACTS.

1. "Money exists, not by nature but by law."
2. The relative value of gold and silver bullions have varied in all ages in proportion to the volume.
3. Gold as the scarcer metal averaged fifteen and one-half to one for the last two centuries prior to 1773.
4. Coinage has fixed the value in all countries regardless of the intrinsic worth.

When the law declares that so many grains of gold or silver shall constitute a dollar and become legal tender, it at once opens an enormous field for their employment and creates for them an almost unlimited demand. Hence, market values are governed by coinage laws. Of course, if the coinage of a metal were fixed below what its bullion value was before the coinage law was passed, the law would be inoperative, for no one would wish to sacrifice part of

the commodity value of his possessions. That gold owes to legislation its high value to-day, no one who has studied the question, and who understands the law of supply and demand, will deny.

5. Silver has been the principal coin money of all civilized peoples—is practically the only coin of civilized men in general circulation.

6. Gold is too soft, too valuable, too small in size for use except as a store of value and basis of credit.

7. The value of all the gold and silver in the world is nearly equal, or about four thousand millions of dollars each. No attempt had ever been made to prevent the general coinage of silver until after the French and German war of 1870.

The mints of Germany, France and the United States have been closed to free silver coinage since 1873. Special sums of silver coined under the Bland act, 1878-1890, two hundred and fifty million dollars; Sherman-Windom act, 1890-1893, one hundred and fifty million dollars, have added five hundred millions of silver dollars to United States money.

The volume of silver coin in use in Europe is one thousand five hundred million dollars. The amount of annual coinage of practical silver and acts required there for coinage is about thirty million dollars, the United States production.

The value conferred by law upon gold, is a monopolistic value, by which it is given an exclusive privilege of settling debts. Abolish that legal fiction, called the standard of value, and all laws restraining the issuance of paper money universally, and it will then be possible to ascertain the true commodity-value of both gold and silver.

8. The quantity of gold at the discovery of gold in California in 1848 was less than one-thirtieth of the weight of silver. It is now increased to nearly double the propor-

tionate amount of gold, or one to fifteen. Its proportionate intrinsic value has fallen one-half by doubling the proportionate increase, measuring its value by relative scarcity. But for gold free coinage, it must have fallen as compared with silver.

In 1854 Holland and many European countries proposed to stop coinage of gold or increase the weight in the coins. Holland ceased gold coinage for a time.

9. The great value in small compass of gold, its ease of concealment and transportation, has made it always the favorite of the Jews and bankers. Great effort was made in 1867 to stop the coinage of silver to maintain and increase the price of gold. The French and German war settlements in 1872 enabled the Rothschilds and Lombard Street to accomplish the great conspiracy against silver coinage in 1872 and 1873 by stopping the mintage of silver in Germany—never in the United States. The result has been about three to seven per cent. annual increase in the purchasing power of gold and silver and all other commodities throughout the world, so that gold purchases twice as much commodity as it did twenty years ago, and there is no limit visible to stop the advance in price of gold in commodity except by the free coinage of silver or the issue of legal tender silver and paper money of equal and interchangeable value. The gold standard result is a seeming fall in value of all farms and their produce, metals and commodities of every kind of produce by labor, and the power of paying all debts doubled on a gold basis has been rendered impossible.

ELEMENTARY TRUTHS AND PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL  
ECONOMY THAT MUST UNDERLIE EVERY EXPLANATION  
OF THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

The Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, says: "1. Money forms our common medium of exchange. At first,

commerce, such as it was, had to be carried on by a system of pure barter—the system in which, for instance, so many sheep were given in exchange for so many cows, so much corn for so much wool, and so on. Then, as civilization progressed, this system of pure barter was displaced by the employment of a common medium of exchange, available in all cases of selling and buying. Great diversity existed among various tribes and peoples in the choice of the particular medium employed. In some places, skins were used; in some, leather; in some, corn; in some, cattle. Then came a higher stage of development, when metals, such as iron, tin, lead, and copper, were employed. But now, with practical universality, all other materials for standard money have given place to gold and silver.

“2. Money, as regards its primary function, is simply a commodity, selected first by custom, and (often but not always) confirmed by law, as an intermediary in transactions—a something for which, in a civilized community, any other thing can be sold, and with which any other thing can be bought. In other words, a particular commodity is selected to perform the function of a common measure of value; but it is, and remains, a commodity. gold remains gold, silver remains silver, while they perform this function of money; and they remain subject to exactly the same laws of exchange as before. A new use is imposed upon the substance; that is all; the substance itself is unchanged.

“3. By the ‘value’ of money, we are to understand its ‘exchange value,’ or, in other words, its purchasing power—that is to say, the power which the possession of money gives to those who possess it to go into an open market, and obtain, in exchange for their money, the things that are on sale there.

“4. The metals, gold and silver, like all other marketable commodities, are liable to fluctuations in value; their

value being controlled, like that of all other commodities, by the law of supply and demand. This means that if gold and silver are to be had in abundance, a smaller quantity of other commodities—as, for instance, less corn, less hay, less butter—will have to be given in exchange for a definite quantity of gold and silver. On the other hand, if gold and silver are not so easily to be had, then, a larger quantity of other commodities—more corn, for instance, more hay, more butter—will have to be parted with to obtain in exchange for them the same quantity of those metals.

“5. ‘It is now universally admitted in works of Political Economy that any such thing as a commodity with absolute stability of value is unattainable.’

“6. ‘The most important characteristic of a good monetary standard is, that it should preserve comparative stability of value. The principle reason why, of the multitude of commodities that have been used for the material of money at different times, gold and silver have survived as the fittest, is because their great durability renders the total stock extremely large compared with the annual supply, and thus eliminates one element of instability of value.’

“7. Another special advantage of gold and silver for monetary purposes is that both the weight and the purity of coins made from them may easily be ascertained. At first, after gold and silver were generally adopted, the risk of being defrauded by inferior quality or adulteration was left entirely to the receivers of the metals; in fact, gold and silver circulated between the inhabitants of the country simply as merchandise. . . . Very early, however, it began to be recognized that there would be greater convenience if pieces of the metal were certified by authority to be of certain weights and fineness; and, accordingly, coinage has always been one of the first industrial functions that governments have undertaken.

"8. Coinage is only a process of branding or stamping, and nothing else. The process of minting certifies two things; first, that the coin is of a certain weight of gold or silver, as the case may be; and, secondly that the gold or silver of which the coin is composed is of a certain specified degree of purity. But minting—the minting, for instance, of gold into a sovereign—adds nothing to the value of the piece of metal that is coined.

"9. It is not, however, to be supposed that the commodity, gold, or the commodity, silver, does not derive a special value from the fact of its being constituted a standard monetary metal. 'Law singles out gold or silver, or both, to be used as money, and gives them special functions which it confers on no other commodity. *In virtue of this selection, the demand for these metals is greatly increased, and, as they are only of limited production, their value is increased accordingly.*'

"10. A sovereign is a minted coin consisting of a certain specified weight of gold, of a certain specified fineness. The weight of a sovereign when issued from the mint is the  $\frac{1}{123}$  part of an ounce, or 123.27447 grains, of standard gold.

"11. A fluctuation in the value of gold involves a fluctuation in the value of the sovereign.

"This, of course, does not mean that the sovereign can ever become worth more or less than twenty shillings. That would be a contradiction in terms. For 'a shilling' means merely the twentieth part of the value of a sovereign.

"When we say, then, that the value of a sovereign may fluctuate, what we mean is that, as a medium of exchange, the sovereign will sometimes have a greater, sometimes a lesser, 'exchange value' or purchasing power.

"The reason of the liability to fluctuation in the purchasing power of the sovereign is plain. When gold rises



in value, a larger quantity of any other commodity—say, of corn, of hay, of butter, or of cloth—will have to be given in exchange for any given quantity of gold, such, for example, as the quantity contained in a sovereign. On the other hand, when gold falls in value, a smaller quantity of any other commodity—say, of corn, of hay, of butter, or of cloth—will suffice to obtain in exchange for it any given quantity of gold, such as that contained in a sovereign.

“12. It is an obvious inference, that our gold coinage, however useful as a medium of exchange, does not furnish us with a standard of value, fixed and unalterable. It does not furnish us, for example, with such a standard as the yard is of length, or as the pound Troy is of weight.

“13. The popular notion, then, of the sovereign, or pound sterling, constituting a fixed standard of value, is merely a popular delusion.

“The sole foundation for that delusion manifestly is, that, in these countries, the values of all commodities are commonly stated in terms of the pound sterling, in other words, in pounds, shillings, and pence—a ‘shilling’ meaning the twentieth part of a pound, and ‘a penny,’ the twelfth part of that again. The natural result of this method of expressing the values of commodities other than gold, is, that, to the superficial observer, the impression conveyed by a rise or fall in prices is that it is the value of all others things that changes, the value of the sovereign remaining fixed.

“14. In Great Britain—and the same is true of Ireland, and of many other countries—gold being the one standard metal, all prices are stated in terms of the sovereign, or parts of the sovereign. So that, for instance, if, at any time, a certain quantity of corn sells for £100 5s. 10d., this means that this quantity of corn represents, in exchange value, 100 sovereigns, with the fourth part (5s.) of

the value of a sovereign, and the sixth part (10d.) of that again.

“ But in countries, such as India, where silver is the one standard metal, all prices are stated in reference to the rupee—a standard silver coin which may be compared, roughly, with our two-shilling piece.

“ Prices stated in terms of a standard gold coin, as they are stated in England and Ireland in terms of the sovereign, are spoken of as ‘ gold ’ prices. Prices stated in terms of a standard silver coin, as they are stated in India in terms of the rupee, are spoken of as ‘ silver ’ prices.

“ 15. The price of things estimated in gold—their ‘ gold price ’—may change, whilst their price estimated in silver—their ‘ silver price ’—remains unaltered.

“ This will occur if the value or purchasing power of gold goes up or down, while the value or purchasing power of silver remains unaltered.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT MONEY.

Gold is the money of the financial manipulator, silver is the money of the toilers and their friends.

## WHAT IS MONEY.

"MONEY by itself is but a frivolity, a futility, a trifle, and has value *only by law*, not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it, is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and power to satisfy all our wants."—*Aristotle's Politica*.

"Silver is the instrument and measure of commerce in all the civilized and trading ports of the world.

"It is the instrument of commerce by its intrinsic value.

"The intrinsic value of silver, considered as money, is that estimate which common consent has placed on it."—*Locke*.

"Money is a value, created by law, to be a scale of valuation, and a valid tender of payments."—*H. Cernuschi*.

"It (money) should be supplied, like all other commodities, only according to the free action of the laws of supply and demand."—"Money and the Mechanics of Exchange," *Jevons*.

"Value is created by law . . . If gold is not money, it is not legal tender. If you suppose silver is not money, it is not legal tender, the value of the gold and the value of the silver is lost . . .

"These mines (silver) can only work when they are sure

of producing, not simply a metal, but a *legal tender*.”—*Cernuschi*.

“The quantity of gold and silver as employed in ornaments is very small in comparison with the quantity of gold and silver which circulates as money.”—*Cernuschi*.

“That which creates the value is the legal right of every one having his metal stamped and coined in conformity with the law.”—*Cernuschi*.

“Isaac Newton had seen that the market relative value of gold and silver is but as the shadow of the mint regulations of the different countries.”—*Cernuschi*.

“I think it safe to conclude with Mr. Goschen that whatever policy depreciates silver does menace the gold States. I cannot avoid the conclusion that whenever you tamper with the standard of value, you do menace every state and every human being who uses it.”—*M. Howe, Delegate, U. S. A.*

“Free coinage in unlimited quantity, and with unlimited legal-tender faculty, has the effect of constituting the whole of the metal, old and new, coined or uncoined, a single monetary mass.”—*H. Cernuschi*.

“A metal transformable into money has virtually in itself the power of motion and exchange, as also that of producing interest. The non-transferable metal, no longer having these qualities, accordingly suffers a loss of value.”—*Goschen*.

“When gentlemen decline the task of establishing a durable link between gold and silver as impracticable, it seems to me that they are making a willful confusion of ideas; they confound the metal remaining merchandise with the metal become money by mintage, viz., by the operation of a legal character. As I have already said, the law alone makes coin.”—*Rusconi*.

“Monetary laws, then, can *create a demand*; now a demand is a decisive factor in the value of things, and is a

cause of the production of things which possess value. Does it not appear, then, that States by their laws can create values and preserve them?"—*Dana Horton*.

"If legislation is discordant, the relative value of the two metals may vary. If there is a bi-metallic international legislation, the relative value of the two metals can no longer vary."—*Cernuschi*.

"The cost of production goes for nothing in the value of money. If the purchasing power depends upon the volume of money, it cannot depend upon the cost of production."—*Cernuschi*.

"If the stock in circulation is augmented, the purchasing power of every greenback is diminished; it is so with gold and silver; the purchasing power is always in relation to the quantity of money."—*Cernuschi*.

"Debts and credits, dividends, incomes, pensions, life annuities, all contracts for the future transfer of capital, are fixed in money. If a change occur in the volume, and consequently in the value of money, all those who have to pay or all those who have to receive, will be injured."—*D. Horton*.

"If the metal was not declared money by law, if silver was everywhere demonetized, except for the irrelevant limited quantity employed as fractional currency, its value would be almost entirely lost. A subsequent possible rise in the price of silver as merchandise would be without importance."—*Cernuschi*.

"Money is created for the purpose of measuring the relative value of all commodities and property. *Measures are not measured*. The value of money is not measured or valued."—*D. Horton*.

"Depreciation of silver is a phrase admissible in England, where silver is not money, but this term has no significance in India, where silver is money. Depreciation means diminution of price. Money can never diminish in

price, because money is itself the *material of which price is composed*.”—*Cernuschi*.

“Coin, the mintage of which is not free, is only *national money*. If melted down, that coin becomes a commodity—a commodity not worth nearly as much as the coin was.”—*H. Cernuschi*.

“ Production of gold between 1872 and 1876, £19,000,000 per annum.				
“	silver	“	“	13,000,000 “
Excess of gold.....				£5,300,000

“In view of these figures, it is altogether impossible even for those who have been so much afraid of the fertility of silver mines and attribute the depreciation of silver to natural causes; *it is wholly and exclusively due to the action of legislation*.

“When the monetary law is metallic, neither gold nor silver, coined or uncoined, is merchandise. That is the secret.”—*Cernuschi, Silver Vindicated*.

“Possessing no longer in reality a free foreign use the value which the law continues to give it, in the country which coined it, the 5-franc piece has become *inexportable money*—a thing condemned by all true monetary science.”—*D Horton*.

“It has always been thought that the relative value of the two metals ought to be regulated in such proportions to those established in neighboring countries that the exportation of one or the other metal can offer no bait to the cupidity of speculation.”—*Gaudin, French Minister of Finance, 1803*.

“Paper money is merely *national money*. Metallic money may be *international money*.”—*H. Cernuschi*.

“Dr. Suess concludes that the desire to make gold everywhere the only coinage, to the exclusion of silver, is pure madness. Geology opposes it. There does not exist

in the world gold enough for the purpose."—*Emile Lavoley*.

Money is a commodity in one sense, and yet not in another. When it is the measure of the value of commodities, it is not a commodity.

Again, it is true that legislative action cannot fix the value of a commodity in one sense; but, on the other hand, it can give value to a metal by causing a demand for it as money; or it can deprive it of much of its value by demonetizing it, and thus causing the demand for it to cease.

Again, legislation cannot fix a relative value between two metals; but, by combining them as joint standards at a fixed ratio, it can set up an action, operating by the ordinary laws of supply and demand, which preserves an equilibrium between the two metals at the ratio fixed.

The monometallists are right in their principles of political economy, but wrong in their application of them when they argue that bimetallism is opposed to those principles. Legislation theoretically does not and cannot fix the relative values of gold and silver; but practically it gives rise to an automatic action, which can and does cause and maintain an equilibrium between the relative values of the two metals through the economic laws of supply and demand.

Money is but a convenient medium of exchange, a measure by which the worth of all commodities is determined when they are transferred from one to the other.

Money is not the wealth of the country. The wealth of the country consists in commodities, products, merchandise, land and improvements.

"Money" is: anything that is generally accepted as a medium of exchange and as a measure of values. A promise to pay money is money, whether it is made by the Government or a bank or by any person or corporation,

## FREE SILVER AND THE PEOPLE.

...

and accepted as money by the public. Mr. Carlisle's assertion that "a promise to pay money is no more money than a promise to deliver a horse is a horse" showed great ignorance on the subject.

The money in the vaults of the United States gives the nation credit. Except in the form of credit, however, it adds nothing whatever to the nation's active wealth.

## COMMODITIES AND MONEY.

Money is not a commodity. It is not bought as a commodity or sold as a commodity, and therefore can not be reckoned with as a commodity. Law does not make commodities but it makes and coins money. As has been said, a molecule of gold is worth no more than a molecule of mud in intrinsic value.

The Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, says: "Legislation cannot directly give value to a thing, *but it can set up a demand which is one of the factors of value.*"

*No property, the amount and supply of which does not automatically regulate itself and circulate among all the people can be made the basis of a monetary system.* This is not and never has been true of gold.

Robert Morris says: "It is right that money should acquire a value as money, distinct from that which it possesses as a commodity, in order that it should be a fixed rule whereby to measure the value of all other things."

In volume 4, page 85, of Franklin's works, he says: "Gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron. Their value rests chiefly on the esteem they happen to be on among the generality of nations. Any other well founded credit is as much an equivalent as gold and silver.



Paper money, well founded, has great advantages over gold and silver, being light and convenient for handling large sums, and not likely to have its volume reduced by demands for exportation."

If the United States decided to use a particular kind of leather for money, would not the price of that leather immediately go up; and then if its use as money were stopped, would not the price immediately drop? This is just as true of silver or of gold as of leather.

Count Rosconi, the Italian delegate to the Paris monetary conference, in 1878, says: "The metal is one thing and money is another. Nature makes the metal; law alone makes the money."

John C. Calhoun in 1838, said. "I now undertake to affirm positively, and without the least fear that I can be answered, what heretofore I have but just suggested, that a paper issued by a government, with a simple promise to receive it in all dues, leaving its creditors to take it, or gold and silver, at their option, would, to the extent which it would circulate, form a perfect paper circulation, and would be as steady and uniform as the metals themselves."

Jefferson entertained similar views. He said: "Treasury bills, buttoned on taxes, thrown into circulation, will take the place of so much gold and silver."

Gold cannot be demanded at the treasury in exchange either for silver dollars or for silver certificates.

Senator Gray interrupted Senator Teller on the floor of the Senate, and asked if the reason why a United States silver dollar was more valuable than a Mexican dollar was not because it was redeemable in gold, and Senator Aldrich asked Senator John P. Jones a question involving the

same principle. Senator Teller procured a statement from Secretary Foster that no silver dollar had ever been redeemed in gold, and Jones procured the same statement from Secretary Carlisle.

GOLD NOT THE SUSTAINING POWER OF THE PRESENT  
SILVER DOLLAR.

The hundreds of millions of gold mined in California did not prevent the greatest panic of our history in 1857. So serious was the condition of affairs that President Buchanan devoted a large portion of his message to the financial situation. Among other things, he said:

“In the midst of unsurpassed plenty, in all the productions of agriculture, and in all the elements of national wealth, we find our manufactures suspended, our public work retarded, and thousands of the useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenues have been greatly reduced while appropriations by Congress are very large in amount.”

Mr. Buchanan went on to say: “This was the condition of affairs in spite of the fact that four hundred millions of gold from California had flowed in within eight years, and still continued to flow. Yet the fourteen hundred banks of the country, each doing business independent of the others, held a considerably less amount of specie, either in proportion to their capital or their circulation and deposits combined, than they did before the discovery of gold in California.”

JAY COOKE ON THE GOLD STANDARD.

The following is taken from a letter of the great financier, Jay Cooke, the patriotic financier who stood by Lincoln during the civil war, and floated the government

bonds to raise money to carry on the war, without charging a cent commission.

William Jay Strong of Chicago to whom the letter was written rightly says: "The opinion of such a man ought to have more weight than the opinion of those Morgan syndicate fellows, who within the last two years charged the people of this country eleven million dollars for selling one hundred millions of bonds."

This is what Jay Cooke says of the gold standard:

"One of the great and terrible results of gold monometallism is now and will be the direct competition of all strictly silver countries, which under the influence of cheap silver (which is the only currency of over one thousand million of the world's population) will gradually, if not speedily, even with large tariff protection, so increase their production of wheat, cotton and various manufactured articles, as to utterly take possession of, not only their own home markets, but the markets of the whole world.

"I see little reference to this terrible danger in any of the arguments used against the gold standard, and yet this danger exists and is increasing hourly.

"In India, for instance, hundreds of miles of new railroads are being built, opening up rich alluvial soils for the cultivation of cotton and wheat; the best American and European machinery is being used and made familiar to the Orientals; hundreds of cotton and other manufactories are being erected, while thousands and tens of thousands of Englishmen, Germans and Americans are reaping large salaries as directors, managers and tutors of this immense horde of docile, hard-working people, who, with wages not one-tenth as great as those paid in this country, are rapidly becoming skilled in every mode of agriculture and manufactures; their wages are paid in silver, and the goods, the

wheat and cotton they export, bring those countries (even at the present low price of wheat and cotton) enormous profits. It is astonishing that our public men, our bankers, our farmers, our manufacturers, our cotton raisers, etc., do not take instant alarm at this prospect of overwhelming competition.

“It is this comparatively small competition up to date which has already damaged our nation to the extent of hundreds of millions per annum.

“What will be the effect if this competition is further stimulated by the continuance in our country and in the countries of Europe of this single standard of gold?

“No amount of protection can possibly shield us from the importation of products from these Oriental, South American nations, whose laborers receive from eight to fifteen cents per day, and that in silver, purchased with the products of their exports at fifty cents on the dollar.”

The constitution says: “Congress shall coin money and regulate the value therefor.”

Those who oppose free coinage say Lombard Street, England, and other countries may prohibit our coinage of silver and regulate the value of ten thousand millions of dollars of property annually produced in America so as to require twice the amount of commodity and double the payment of every debt which would take all there is left of property on “a gold only” basis. This is a greater tax, paid willingly to England, than any patriot can pay, a robbery and a crime having no parallel in human history, for it, by England’s confession, crushes alike the prices of all nations. Who says our congress shall not coin the gold and silver of the constitution free and regulate the value therefor—other nations? Why not let them regulate our tariff and make our laws that are less vital to us than our money?

## THE MONEY OF THE PEOPLE.

If the present population of 76,000,000 of the United States be added to that of the other bimetallic countries the total of people using both gold and silver in their trade and domestic affairs is raised to over 230,000,000 or 34,000,000 more people in strictly civilized and advanced countries, on a bimetallic basis, than there are in the gold standard countries, one of which (Turkey) cannot be called civilized, and three of which are dependencies. Removing Turkey, Egypt, Finland and Liberia from the list, the population of the gold basis countries would be reduced to 152,939,000, or 74,600,000 less people on a gold basis than on a bimetallic basis, while, if to the latter the population of the strictly silver countries be added, the enormous total of 1,063,587,141 people on a bimetallic and purely silver basis is found, as against but 196,539,132 of population on a gold basis, or nearly 5½ to 1 the world over of people on a silver and bimetallic basis.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Mereton Frewen, the great English bimetallist says: "I rejoice in the revolt of the Democratic party, and I venture to predict that if that party be successful in electing a free silver/President and Congress, before Mr. Cleveland goes out of the White House, an international arrangement will have been secured."

FOUR THOUSAND PERSONS OWN THE GOLD OF THE WORLD, NO POSSIBLE HUMAN COMBINATION COULD EVER CONTROL THE SILVER OF THE WORLD.

A 200 cent gold dollar is an infinitely greater crime than a fifty-cent silver dollar. However, the world has never seen, and will never see a fifty-cent silver dollar in the country of coinage.

Paper money is only a substitute for real money, and its volume cannot safely be increased beyond a fixed proportion to primary or redemption money.

Demonetization of silver has therefore forced the reduction of all moneys and credits to something like one-half their normal quantity, and cut in twain the prices of all commodities. Unless gold shall be discovered in fabulous quantities, the fall in prices must, under the operation of the same law, continue for an indefinite period.

The single gold standard therefore is not stable, and therefore not an honest but a dishonest standard. Under it we do not have an honest 100-cent dollar, but more nearly a dishonest 200-cent dollar.

## WHICH IS THE STABLE METAL?

Which is the stable standard of value, gold or silver?

Sixteen ounces of silver would buy at its gold value, in July, 1866,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of wheat; in July, 1896,  $18\frac{3}{4}$  bushels of wheat.

One ounce of gold would buy, in July 1866,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of wheat; in July, 1896,  $34\frac{1}{4}$  bushels of wheat.

Sixteen ounces of silver would buy, in July, 1866, 100 pounds of cotton; in July, 1896, 140 pounds of cotton.

One ounce of gold would buy, in July, 1866, 100 pounds of cotton; in July, 1896, 258 pounds of cotton.

Sixteen ounces of silver at its gold value will buy as much to-day as it would thirty years ago, but an ounce of gold will buy about twice as much. Had a man put away 16 ounces of silver in July, 1866, and 1 ounce of gold, and taken it from store to-day, would he say that the silver had gone down when he can exchange it for as much as in 1866, or would he say that gold had advanced since he could exchange it for more than he could then?

Between 1800 and 1840 the world's production of gold was 21,180,000 ounces, of silver 783,000,000 ounces, or 37 to 1. For the next decade it dropped to 13 to 1, being 18,186,400 of gold and 245,000,000 of silver. Between 1850 and 1870 the production of gold increased to 129,849,000 ounces, of silver only to 657,000,000, or 5 to 1. Mulhall says (p. 416, 1886) that the highest market price per ounce in London for bar silver during these seventy years was 60 pence 3 farthings the lowest, 60 pence 1 farthing, a variation of 1 cent, while the mints were open to free coinage.

Prior to the discovery of gold in 1848 the bulk of the world's money was silver. In 1848 the total gold in coinage in the world was only 39,000,000 ounces, of silver 1,470,000,000, or 37 to 1. Yet there was absolute parity at

15.50—the highest coinage ratio—the world over. If any country coined lower, its silver was at a premium. In 1860 the gold in coinage had reached 85,000,000 ounces, a drop to 21 to 1, with absolute parity. In 1870 it was 16 to 1 with absolute parity, and in 1883 only 12 to 1, the gold in coinage being 169,000,000 ounces and the silver 2,086,000,000 (United States Mint estimate).

#### A STOCK ARGUMENT ANSWERED.

Gold standard advocates base their chief argument on the proposition that a bar of gold weighing one pound is equal, at the present market value, to a thirty-pound bar of silver.

They say: "Let it be assumed that these bars have been converted into coin under a free-coinage act; they would still bear the same ratio to each other, and one dollar of coined gold would purchase over thirty dollars of coined silver, and this ratio could not be altered by an act of free coinage."

The unanswerable reply to that, says C. W. Wood, in the *New York Journal*, is "that the ratio of thirty to one would remain the same, only as to weight, the market ratio depending upon the demand, as, after the metal is converted into coin it is no longer bullion, and its value is determined in dollars and cents. To illustrate:

1 lb. of gold, 12 ozs., at \$20.67 per oz.....	\$248.16
30 lbs. of silver, 360 ozs. at 69c. per oz.....	\$248.40

"A difference in favor of silver of 24 cents, which demonstrates that the present market ratio is a small fraction less than 30 to 1.

"If you make the ratio 60 to 1 the result will be the same, *i. e.*, the coin will circulate dollar for dollar (\$1 in gold will never purchase \$30 in silver, or \$15, or \$5). The gentleman must recognize the impracticability of adopting a



ratio other than the present one, which would necessitate the recoinage of all the silver now in circulation, requiring nearly thirteen years for its accomplishment.

“But supposing, for argument’s sake, this could be done. We have not increased the value (purchasing power) of the silver dollar, but, on the contrary, have diminished it, as it would require  $742\frac{1}{2}$  grains of silver, twice as much), to purchase one dollar in gold.

“Now, if doubling the weight of a silver dollar does not make it worth a dollar, we will double it again and put into it 1,485 grains of silver. We now certainly have an honest dollar. But wait—one gold dollar will now purchase 1,485 grains of silver, when before it would purchase only  $742\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Again, the purchasing power of the gold dollar has been increased, while the silver dollar, although increased four times its original weight, will purchase no more than our present silver dollar. It may therefore readily be seen that increasing the purchasing price of a silver dollar is not accomplished by addition but rather by subtraction. The market value of silver and gold at a ratio of 30 to 1 would not be materially changed by an act of free coinage, for while the quantity required for use as money would be doubled, the demand for this metal would be at a certain fixed price, a price far below the cost of production. The ratio of 16 to 1, under a free coinage act, would create a demand for silver at a price that would insure its continuous production, thereby equalizing the purchasing power of both metals.

“How do we know this? Reference to page 50, United States Statistical Abstract, 1892, will show that the ratio of silver to gold from 1687 to 1873 (a period of 186 years) did not exceed  $16\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, and that from 1873 to 1892, after demonetization, the ratio gradually increased to  $23\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 and at present is about 30 to 1. I will also state for nearl

twenty years prior to 1873 the minimum commercial value of silver in the silver dollar (London quotation) was 97 $\frac{4}{16}$ , since which date it has gradually declined until to-day it is 65 cents.

"It is stated that the difference between the coinage and bullion value of silver coined last year (\$30,000,000), represents a prospective profit to the mine owner. This statement is exceedingly damaging to the cause of gold, for, by it is acknowledged that a free coinage act would double the price of silver, advancing it to \$1.20 per ounce."

Senator Daniels says: "HIT THE GOLD DOLLAR WITH A HAMMER AND THE LAW PUTS THE DOLLAR BACK INTO THE BULLION. . . . HIT THE SILVER DOLLAR WITH A HAMMER AND THE LIFE IS KNOCKED OUT OF IT, FOR THE LAW WILL NOT PUT THE DOLLAR BACK."

#### GREENBACKS.

"The legal tender acts under which our greenbacks were issued were passed with the exception clause," says the *American*. "The notes were not receivable in payment of custom duties; they could not be tendered in payment of interest on the public debt. Thus discriminated against, they went to a discount, and at a discount they remained. Until when? Not until specie payments were resumed? No. They went to par with gold before. It was in October, 1878, that they went to a par with gold. October 1, 1877, John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, ordered their acceptance in payment of customs duties. Thus the greenbacks were fully monetized; they became full legal tender, fitted to fill the same functions as gold, and they at once went to par with gold, so that, four months later, when specie payments were resumed, there was no demand on the treasury for redemption. Resump-

tion had become an established fact when the 'green-backs' were remonetized."

#### FREE SILVER AND LOSS OF FOREIGN TRADE.

One of the most senseless, yet oft-repeated assertions of the gold contractionists is that the opening of our mints to the free coinage of silver would put an end to our trade with gold standard countries and close the European markets to our surplus agricultural products. As we find a market abroad for two-thirds of the cotton and one-third of the wheat that we raise, and as the gold standard countries of Europe take annually more than one-fourth of our total agricultural products, the loss of this market would be of serious import to our agricultural classes.

But why anticipate the loss of this market as the result of free coinage? We are told that free coinage would give us silver-monometallism; that gold would go to a premium; that this would derange our foreign exchanges with gold standard countries, and lead to cessation of trade with such countries; that the British trader, to avoid possible losses, consequent on fluctuations in exchange between New York and London, would cease to purchase from us, and that we would be reduced to the necessity of exporting gold to pay our foreign indebtedness. Our foreign creditors, they continue, refusing to take our silver, wheat, cotton or other produce in payment of our indebtedness, but insisting on payment in gold, the early exportation of our entire stock of gold would be unavoidable. This, leading to a violent contraction of our currency, a contraction of \$600,000,000, as we are told, would bring on disastrous panic and an unparalleled fall in prices. Such is the picture drawn by the gold contractionists.

Loss of our foreign trade, refusal of gold standard peoples to buy our products, resulting exportation of our gold to meet the demands of our foreign creditors and conse-

quent contraction of our currency, disastrous fall in prices, and panic are, then, the results anticipated, or at least predicted, by the gold contractionists on the opening of our mints to silver. All these predictions rest on the assumption that free coinage of silver would send gold to a premium and place us on a silver basis. Therefore, as the opening of our mints to silver would lead to such increased demand for silver and decreased demand for gold that silver would rise and gold fall until the parity was restored, all these objections urged by the gold contractionists against the free coinage of silver and resting on the assumption that gold would go to a premium, fall to the ground.

But granting that gold should go to a premium on the opening of our mints to silver, how would this premium lead to the loss of our foreign trade? Why because of this premium on gold would the British trader refuse to buy our wheat and cotton and other products? It is true that with gold at a premium, exchange between New York and London would fluctuate, that the pound sterling would buy exchange for more dollars just as the premium rose and for fewer dollars just as it fell, but this would no more lead to the cessation of foreign buying of our products than such a premium checks the purchase of wheat, etc., in the Argentinian, Indian and Russian markets by the British trader. In the face of a premium on gold, in fact stimulated by such premium, the exports of Russian and Argentinian wheat to Great Britain have grown very largely of late years, and just as this premium on gold, this bounty on exports, stimulates the export of wheat and other produce from such countries, a similar premium on gold in the United States would result in increased exports of our products.

THE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT CONSIST OF THE GOLD AND SILVER IN HER VAULTS, BUT RATHER OF THE COMFORTS AND EMPLOYMENT SHE CAN GIVE HER PEOPLE.

"During the first fifty years of this century the world produced 78 per cent. more silver than gold, during the last twenty-one years the production of silver over gold has been less than 5 per cent."

"Between 1848 and 1870, the stock of gold money in the world, according to trustworthy estimates, increased by nearly 90 per cent., whilst the quantity of silver money in the world increased by only 10 per cent. But still, under the natural operation of the bimetallic system of France and other countries, the relative value of gold and silver stood practically unchanged."

When a man pays \$100 for a horse the horse buys the \$100 just as certainly as the \$100 buys the horse. That being true the horse is as much of a financial consideration as the money.

"THERE ARE MORE CONTRACTS TO PAY GOLD—NOTES, BONDS, AND MORTGAGES—SECURED UPON REAL ESTATE, RAILWAYS AND ENTERPRISES, SEVERAL TIMES OVER, THAN THERE IS GOLD IN THE WORLD."

#### TIMID BONDHOLDERS.

"There is nothing so timid as capital. It takes nothing for granted. It will accept no omens of victory, but victory itself. Until the polls shall close on election day on the third of next November, it will risk no ventures. It will wait for developments."—*Wall Street Daily News*, Aug. 10.

## RICH MEN AND BUSINESS.

“Rich men do not feel inclined to load up with securities in the face of political uncertainties. And it is such loading up by rich men that is at the foundation of bull movements. In these and in fact in all the industrials dearer money assisted the declines. Aside from this, however, even the remote possibility of the success of the Popocratic party had its effect on the trusts, which would be crippled by adverse legislation in the improbable event of the election of the anti-trust, anti-honest money ticket. Notwithstanding the fact that the bear contingent bought in large lines of shorts on Friday and Saturday, the final quotations, both for industrials and railways, were practically the lowest.”—*New York Daily Stockholder*, Aug. 10.

## THE DEMONITIZATION OF SILVER.

“It will seem to subsequent ages the height of folly that, just at the period when gold was running short, the chief States of the world decided to close their mints against silver, and cut off, so to speak, one-half the money supply of the world from performing its proper functions. . . .

“Had the world continued to use both metals as freely as before, the painful crises of the past would have been much mitigated. But by a suicidal policy, silver was cut off at the very time when it was most needed, and a double burden thrown upon gold just when it was only able to bear half its former burden.

“As Bismarck has well said, two men were struggling to lie under a blanket only big enough for one.”

Nothing better portrays the embarrassment of the situation in Germany after the demonitization of silver, than Prince Bismarck's characteristic exclamation: “*We have got into a swamp with our gold standard, and we don't know how to get out.*”

## THE INSTABILITY OF GOLD.

Far from having proven a stable measure of value, gold, since divorced from silver, has proven most unstable. Just as silver has been discarded by the nations of the Western world ever since the nations of the Western world have taken up with gold, to the exclusion of silver, gold has appreciated and prices have fallen. From year to year the purchasing power of gold has increased until the gold dollar of to-day is worth two-thirds more than the gold dollar of twenty years ago. And it is this dollar that we are asked to look upon as stable; it is this dollar that has appreciated ever since silver has been discarded at an average rate of 3 per cent. per annum that we are told is particularly fitted, because of its great stability, as the standard of an advancing civilization.

## THE FALL OF SILVER IN COMPARISON WITH THE FALL OF 45 PRINCIPAL STAPLE COMMODITIES.

Years.	Mr. Sauerbeck's Index-numbers.	
	Index-number of 45 Principal Commodities.	Index-number of Silver.
1874	102	95.8
1875	96	93.3
1876	95	86.7
1877	94	90.2
1878	87	86.4
1879	83	84.2
1880	88	85.9
1881	85	85.0
1882	84	84.9
1883	82	83.1
1884	76	83.3
1885	72	79.9
1886	69	74.6
1887	68	73.3
1888	70	70.4
1889	72	70.2
1890	72	73.4
1891	72	74.1
1892	68	65.4

“It is sufficient to note that, in one case, the Index-numbers show a fall from 102 to 68, and, in the other, a fall from 95 to 65. What more striking evidence could be looked for, that the fall, all round, is the result, not of causes affecting merely the prices of commodities on the one hand, nor of causes affecting merely the price of silver on the other, but of the one cause that influences both alike; that is to say, a progressive increase of value in the standard, gold, in reference to which the prices, whether of commodities or of silver, are stated?”—*From Sauerbeck's Standard Computation.*

Professor Jevons says: “A little reflection must show that MM. Wolowski and Courcelle-Seneuil are quite correct in urging that a compensatory or, as I should prefer to call it, equilibratory action goes on under the French currency law, and tends to maintain both gold and silver more steady in value than they would otherwise be. . . . At any moment the standard of value is doubtless one metal or the other, and not both; yet the fact that there is an alternation tends to make each vary much less than it would otherwise do. It cannot prevent both metals from falling or rising in value compared with other commodities, but it can throw variations of supply and demand over a larger area, instead of leaving each metal to be affected merely by its own accidents.

“Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe, the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuation only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain mean level, and the effects of any excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the whole area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals, gold and silver, circulating in Western Europe in late years is exactly rep-



resented by the water of these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the law of the Seventh Germinal, an XI., which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender."

The views of Jevons were those of Hamilton and Jefferson, as fully appears from the former's report on the mint, which was concurred in by Jefferson and approved by Washington. These far-seeing statesmen took the ground that "we cannot afford to stand on the single unit," and that our mints should be kept open to free coinage of both metals.

Unless Jevons can be shown to be wrong and the fathers of our Republic unwise or dishonest, then a unit based on both metals is the most stable, the double standard is the best, and the dollar coined thereunder is the honest dollar.

"Mr. Samuel Smith, in an essay on 'The Sufferings caused by the Appreciation of the Gold Standard,' calls special attention to the increasing burden thrown upon agricultural tenants in Ireland by the maintenance of the present monometallic system. He speaks more especially of the Irish tenants, in view of the fact that so many of them are in the embarrassing position of having rents judicially fixed for 15 years.

"This aspect of the case is brought out forcibly also by the Belgian economist, Emile de Laveleye:

" 'This consideration,' he says, 'especially affects Ireland . . .

" 'If you can let tenants hold their land for nothing, it would be all right; but if they have to pay a fair rental either to landlords or to the governments, or to purchase at a fair price, they must then sell produce so as to procure the amount requisite for purchase or for a fair rent.

" 'If the price of this produce is very low, and is falling

still lower, then the tenants will be incapable of raising the required sum, and it will be necessary to evict them . . . or to cancel their debts.

“‘The supply of gold being wholly insufficient, a fall in prices must ensue, hence *the ruin of Irish cultivators, in spite of Home Rule.*’

“In a statistical paper of exceptional interest, read by Mr. Giffen, chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, before the Royal Statistical Society in London, in 1888, he not merely accepted, but proclaimed with marked emphasis, the proposition that gold had notably gone up in purchasing power; that the increase was continuing, and was likely to continue; and that this increase in the purchasing power of gold gives the true explanation of the fall in the price of commodities generally.

“Mr. Giffen, indeed, in that paper, was not satisfied with dealing with the state of things as they were then found to exist. He claimed, and apparently not without justice, that a prediction of his in this matter had come true.

“In a former paper, read in 1879, he had, he said, pointed out the likelihood that a rise in the purchasing power of gold would soon become evident, and he had said that if this were to occur, there were sufficient facts in the diminished supply of gold, and in the increased demands upon gold, to account for the increase in its purchasing power.

“Then, in his paper of 1888 he went on to say: ‘If the test of prophecy be the event, there was never surely a better forecast. The fall of prices in such a general way as to amount to what is known as *a rise in the purchasing power of gold*, is generally—I might almost say, *universally*—admitted. . . .

“‘Measured by any commodity, or group of commodities, usually taken as the measure for such a purpose, *gold is undoubtedly possessed of more purchasing power than*

*was the case 15 or 20 years ago, and this high purchasing power has been continued over a long enough period to allow for all minor oscillations.'"*

**"EVERY LABOR JOURNAL IN THE UNITED STATES IS FOR BRYAN AND SEWALL. THAT FACT SPEAKS VOLUMES."**

The Social Reform Club of New York City says:

"What is the spectacle confronting us? We observe widespread desolation and misery in this land of plenty. Where satisfaction and comfort should prevail the masses are suffering. In place of a happy country there exists one vast stretch of discontent. The United States which General Grant hailed as capable of supporting five hundred millions of souls, cannot care for seventy millions. Great armies of unemployed and straving tramp the streets and highways.

"What is the cause of this melancholy state of affairs? By what blasting decree of nature is so rich, so fertile, so extensive a country as ours converted from a paradise into a desert? Has the earth ceased to produce its abundance? Has man's effort withered?

"No. The crops are as abundant as ever. Man is as willing to work. Nature was never more beneficent. There is wealth in plenty to buy all the purchasable joys of life for every citizen.

"It is the greed of these plutocrats that has reduced our people from opulence to penury. Not content with moderate fortunes such as would keep them in luxury, they have heaped up millions upon millions upon the exertions of an entire people. They have caused iniquitous laws to be passed so that they might be benefited. They have bribed faithless officials to present them with free franchises. They have levied blackmail by means of illegal combinations upon a helpless nation. They have

strangled opposition in both trade and legislation by the foulest means. They have cornered the necessities of life in order to increase their hoard. They have placed their tools in high office to throttle hostile action. Now, not satisfied with these long years of oppression, this arrogant class has united its stupendous wealth to oppose the passage of measures for the relief of a desperate people.

"Consider the situation. The very men who have drained this country of its wealth by spoliation propose to retain a series of laws by which the people are being ground to abject want. The railroads wreckers, the trust magnates, the bond exactors, the highwaymen of trade come forward as a unit and seek to have the masses approve a policy of self-destruction. The lamb might as well walk into the lion's mouth as for the masses to declare for the gold standard.

"Gold has been hoarded by Wall Street and European usurers, who have brought it forth from their vaults only when the United States had a choice lot of bonds for sale at a good profit. The gold is cornered or hoarded. It is practically out of circulation. It is true that the Morgans and Belmonts voluntarily handed some millions of gold to the treasury recently in exchange for greenbacks. Why didn't they do that in the last few years instead of forcing the Government to issue \$262,000,000 worth of bonds? It is these men who have held up the country by the throat and squeezed bond issues out of it that now pose as 'patriots.' It is these men who have hoarded gold for personal profit at their country's expense who are demanding the curtailment of one-half of our currency.

"Their foul designs will not be successful. The people are awakened to the dangers confronting them. It has come to a struggle between the masses and the classes. The millionaires are arraying themselves together and the people, with intuitive ideas of self-preservation, are banding

unitedly. The scheme of the plutocrats who plan to defeat the will of the people will fail ignominiously."

"WE ARE PREPARED TO DEFEND OUR PLATFORM. IT PRESENTS, AS WE BELIEVE, THOSE POLICIES WHICH ARE FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE, AND WE ARE NOT TERRIFIED BECAUSE OUR ENEMIES HAVE SOUGHT TO APPLY TO US EPITHETS AND HARD NAMES WHEN THEY FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO OPPOSE THE POSITIONS WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN. THEY SHALL NOT BE PERMITTED TO PUT US IN THE ATTITUDE OF OPPONENTS TO GOVERNMENT, BUT WE SHALL SHOW THEM THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEFENDING A GOVERNMENT AND DEFENDING THE VICIOUS LEGISLATION INAUGURATED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR PRIVATE ENDS."—*William J. Bryan.*

John Sherman and John G. Carlisle were strenuously opposed to the single gold standard, until greatness loomed up before them among the disciples of gold.

In the House of Representatives, February 21, 1878, Mr. Carlisle said: "I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce and industry. According to my view of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

"The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately

entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the movable property of the world, including horses, ships, railroads and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one half of the metallic money of the world."

"NO MAN CAN ACCUSE ME OF ATTEMPTING TO DENY TO THE CAPITALIST OR THE FINANCIER THE RIGHT TO HAVE HIS VIEWS AND TO HAVE HIS OPINION AND TO EXPRESS THAT OPINION. I SIMPLY DENY TO HIM THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO THINK UPON THESE SUBJECTS. I DENY TO HIM THE RIGHT TO ACT FOR ANYBODY BUT HIMSELF."—*William J. Bryan.*

#### WHAT CORPORATION MONEY MEANS.

"The issue which has been joined for the campaign is not between the use of gold and silver as money," says the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. "It is between government control and corporation control of the currency.

"The Morgan syndicate, representing foreign capitalists, proposes that the government shall issue no money but gold, and that this gold shall not circulate at all. Part of it is to be held by the government subject to their demand and the rest they are to hold themselves.

"On every dollar of this gold they propose to issue from five to ten in paper. They are not at all particular whether they are called national banks or not. They are not hair-splitters. What they want is the control of our currency. The able financiers in the back parlor of the

Bank of England and of Baron Rothschild's bank do not concern themselves with our constitutional discussions. They are as ready to organize under national as under state laws, or vice versa. But what they are quite sure would be a great wrong and a calamity is for the Government itself to coin money enough to make the country independent of them. It is for this reason that they object to silver—merely because it promises popular control instead of corporation control of the Federal treasury and of the circulation of money.

“A more dishonest scheme of inflation than theirs was never concocted. They are paper money inflationists from the start. They are not in favor of gold dollars, but of corporation paper, or mere floating debt, every dollar of which represents a circulating deficit of a hundred cents. If they are allowed to have their way with the country they will plunder it and ruin it. They are the legitimate successors of John Law and their ideal dollar is the John Law dollar—a corporation's note, absolutely worthless intrinsically and adding a dollar of debt to the gross debt of the community for every dollar note in circulation.”

“BUT UNLESS I MISTAKE THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AMONG WHOM WE LIVE, YOU WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO GET THEM TO SUPPORT A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY WHO WILL CONTINUE THE POLICY OF MORTGAGING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO FOREIGN SYNDICATES, WHEN SEVENTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE STAND READY TO PROTECT THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES.”—*William J. Bryan.*

The *Times and Echo* of England, says, July 19: “If the single gold standard can be forced upon South America

and Asia, as it has been since 1873 forced on North America and Europe, gold must inevitably appreciate to at least four times its present absurd value; or to put it otherwise, commodities must decline to one-fourth of the present price, and labor, all the world over, be crucified as it was never crucified before—in days of mediaeval serfdom or even chattel slavery. Such is the contest. If the money lords can force gold monometallism upon the whole world, they will succeed in establishing the most gigantic moneyed aristocracy among the rich, and the worst system of peonage serfdom among the ‘masses’ that has ever cursed the hapless sons of men. But they will not succeed. I have long leaned to the belief that the social revolution would come to us out of the dauntless bosom of the far West, and the present struggle is but the beginning of the end of the ‘class’ both in the new world and the old.”

In a letter written in 1864 President Lincoln said:

“I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. AS A RESULT OF THE WAR, CORPORATIONS HAVE BEEN ENTHRONED, AND AN ERA OF CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES WILL FOLLOW, AND THE MONEY POWER OF THE COUNTRY WILL ENDEAVOR TO PROLONG ITS REIGN BY WORKING UPON THE PREJUDICE OF THE PEOPLE UNTIL ALL THE WEALTH IS AGGREGATED IN A FEW HANDS, AND THE REPUBLIC IS DESTROYED. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.”

Julian Hawthorne, in the *New York Journal* on Mr. Bryan's triumphal progress from Lincoln, Nebraska, to



the Notification Meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York City:

"I confess I was not myself prepared for the unmistakable sincerity and almost passionate enthusiasm which have met Mr. Bryan at every town and village along our route.

"The numbers grew as we passed on, and the stifling night was succeeded by the sweltering day. They did not assemble thus for their health, nor for fun, nor from curiosity. You could not look in their multitudinous homely faces, pinched and hardened by laborious days and narrow circumstances, without feeling that they were in earnest, in desperate earnest.

"Throughout the small hours, as the train swept along, the noise of shouting rose and died away in the distance. From unseen throats the greeting was passed on continuously from station to station like the fiery cross of the ancient Scottish Highlanders, and the flame of welcome and godspeed was never suffered to go out.

"I call those scenes touching as well as impressive. Nowhere about them is the trail of the professional politician. With every vote given for Bryan in this election will go the heart of the giver. The force behind the man is so vast as to be incalculable. You can estimate it no more than you can the strength of the buffet dealt by a Western tornado. It is elemental. No man, be he ever so great, can be more than the instrument of such a power.

"The people look at Bryan because they see in him the embodiment of all their hope of better things. Were he Apollo and Julius Caesar in one, and had not this representative quality, not a man of all these thousands would turn to glance at him. No one bears this truth more loyally in mind than Bryan himself. To his courage and cheerfulness he adds absolute modesty. If he felt anything personal in these hundreds of miles of applausive voices he

would not wish to hear them. He is too ambitious to be personal. He is resolved that greatness, if he attain it, shall be the result of great duties faithfully done."

"At every stop the train was surrounded and stormed by what can only be described as a seething sea of men.

"I have seen and participated in football scrimmages; a thousand of the fiercest of such battles could not compare with the headlong, desperate struggle of these men to see and touch the silver standard bearer. The expression in their faces was a delight and eagerness mingled—intense delight, wild eagerness. They eddied, whirlpool-like, around the car; they carried it by assault; a score and more got on board and forced their way to the platform on which Mr. and Mrs. Bryan stood. For a time there was danger that the latter would be swept off and lost; men could not clutch at the elixir of life more frantically than did these at their chosen candidate.

"It was a strange sight to look down upon—those convulsed, upturned faces, and those outreaching hands. How they reached outward and upward! Dozens of them would come up bunched together, and Bryan and his wife would touch them with a single sweep of their own. Shaking hands otherwise than by wholesale was no longer attempted. I cannot forget those hands, so different, one from another; so individually characteristic, and all reaching to the object of their desire by a common impulse. A great artist could make a powerful picture of those hands of the people.

"But I have seen and written enough of crowds for the nonce. One might think, after making this journey, that America was wholly composed of excited crowds shouting for Bryan. I am free to confess that I have learned a great deal on this trip that I did not know before, and would not otherwise have believed. I have learned something about the people of America—their wishes and their power.

"Mr. Bryan is a religious man, and he believes that his wonderful success is only indirectly the result of his own or other men's efforts—it was a movement of the Divine will. It was not due to the convention speech or to partisan machinery; it came even in the face of what seemed most likely to obstruct it.

"In a private talk with me yesterday morning he showed me how this was so. I am not at liberty to do more than convey the general scope of the conversation; it was interesting to me, and deepened my personal regard for this broad and strong young man. He deserves success; he can bear it, and it is my belief that he will have it.

"'But it is not myself,' he said. 'Whatever I am is the cause that I represent.'

"'But many men may be inspired by a great cause; it is only for a man such as Bryan to rise to the height of it and become its full embodiment and champion.'

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE—A NATION, LIKE AN ALMIGHTY SAMSON, AWAKENING FROM A STRONG SLEEP.

The New York *Journal* says: "What is the force behind this candidate of the 'new' Democracy, which is, after all, the old Democracy of the days of Thomas Jefferson? What conviction has so taken hold of the minds of the people that they sent to Chicago from all parts of the country more than 600 delegates of such unity of purpose and determination that neither threats, nor entreaties, nor bribes could divert them by one hair's breadth from the course they had marked out for themselves? What sentiment in the heart of the masses has lined the pathway of this young Nebraskan through half a score of States with cheering throngs, and drawn from the throats of thousands appeals that the blessing of God might rest upon him? What drew 20,000 people into the streets of Chicago? What filled those two great theaters at Pitts-

burg? What purpose stirs the 60,000 people who have begged for tickets to Madison Square Garden to-night?

"This campaign is unlike any that has preceded it, unless it be that which ended in the election of Lincoln. Day by day the feeling spreads more widely among the people that this is to be a battle for liberty, for the rescue from the encroachments of capitalism of the ancient rights of free speech, of free thought and free political action. Great as is the currency issue, the need for protection of individual liberty is supplanting it as the prime issue of the campaign. Not by those who from the first have stood for Bryan and the Chicago platform has this issue been raised. It has been proffered boldly, insolently by the classes, that in their dread of the effect of free silver coinage upon their unlawful gains have thought to avert it by exercising upon the masses of the voters the power of coercion which great wealth has given them. Not from the friends and supporters of the Democratic ticket has proceeded the snarling chorus of malicious epithets directed at honorable political opponents. No Democratic employer has threatened his men with discharge unless they cast their votes according to his will. 'Object lessons' of a sort that bring penury to thousands of homes, taking the bread from the mouths of hungry children, have not been employed in Bryan's behalf. We must look to the 'better classes' for these incidents in the evolution of American liberty.

"The masses of the people are not cowards. Recognizing the invasion of their rights by the forces of plutocracy, they offer resistance. For every man whom coercion forces into support of McKinley a score will assert their manhood by rallying to Bryan. They recognize in the contrast between the elements surrounding the two candidates the line of divergence between serfdom and liberty, and they know that unless the choice be wisely made this

year four more years of power will so intrench plutocracy that its overthrow will be impossible. The significance of the unity of the millionaires and the corporations in support of McKinley is not lost upon the nation. The people study the personnel of Mr. Hanna's New York and Chicago Finance Committees with shrewd and deep-seeing eyes. The farmer who sees the names of Armour and Allerton heading the Chicago list remembers how steadily the price of his cattle has decreased since the trust organized and controlled by these men became the only purchaser in the market. They who note the name of Rockefeller leading the New York committee will not forget the execrable record of the Standard Oil Company in corrupting courts and legislatures, and in ruining by the violent outlawry of the incendiary such rivals as it could not overcome by the sinister methods of the conspirator.

"It is to the glory of William J. Bryan and to the eternal credit of the platform upon which he stands that he is opposed by the classes of which Rockefeller and Armour, Sage and Huntington are types. The people already love him for the enemies he has made. They recognize in him the personification of democracy, and in his campaign the first frank and manly revolt against plutocracy the nation has seen since its peril became apparent. It is this that has stirred them as never were the masses stirred before in a political struggle. It is this that has made the East, which had been depicted to the candidate as the enemy's country, turn out to do him such honor as never has been outdone in behalf of any Presidential nominee. It is this conviction that the struggle of November is between democracy and plutocracy, between the forces of oppression and the forces of liberty, that must result in the triumph of the Democratic ticket, unless the theories at the very foundation of our national existence are to be repudiated."

## CHAPTER XVII.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR ALTGELD TO THE DEMOCRATIC  
NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:  
I did not come here to make speeches; I came here to assist in nominating the next President of these United States. [Applause and cheers.] I came here to assist in formulating a declaration of principles that shall again offer hope to our people.

Rarely in the history of government has an assembly of free men been confronted with the far-reaching questions—with questions that are fraught with so much of weal or woe to human kind—as those questions with which this convention must deal. For a number of years there has existed in Europe and in our country stagnation in trade, paralysis of industry, and a suspension of enterprise. We have seen the streets of our cities filled with idle men, with hungry women, and ragged children. The country to-day looks to the deliberations of this convention to promise some form of relief.

In order to deal intelligently with these unhappy conditions it is necessary to glance for a moment at the cause which produced them. During the decade which followed the civil war we became the great debtor people of the earth. Everything from the Government down to the sewing machine of the seamstress was mortgaged. There were the great national, state, city, county and other municipal debts. There were the great railroad and other

corporation debts. There were the farm and city mortgages, the great private indebtedness, amounting to thousands of millions of dollars, and nearly all held by English money-lenders. The interest on this great indebtedness had to be paid every year out of the toil of our people, but under the conditions as they then existed we met those payments and our people had a surplus. They were able to, in addition, supply themselves with the necessities and comforts and even the luxuries of life. As a consequence the farmer prospered, the merchant prospered, the railroad prospered, the manufacturer prospered, and labor was employed. But, unhappily for the world, the large security-holding classes conceived the idea that it would be to their interest to make money dear and property and labor cheap.

It being an immutable law of finance that when you increase the volume of money in the world you increase the selling price of property and things [applause], so, on the other hand, when you reduce the volume of money in the world you reduce the selling price of property and of labor.

These gentlemen then determined to destroy one-half of the money of the world, and between 1873 and 1880 they got our Government and the governments of Europe to strike down silver. They demonetized it, they stopped its coinage, they took away its legal tender functions, they reduced it to the position of token money where it was used at all. The effect of this was to double the burden that was put upon gold. Formerly the two metals together did the work of the business world. After that time the one metal alone had to do all the business of the world. Consequently, the number of people who had to have it were doubled. It was doubled in importance, and its purchasing power was doubled, so that thereafter the gold dollar bought twice as much labor, twice as much

property, twice as much of the bread and sweat of mankind as it did before. [Applause.] Not only this, but they reduced by one-half the annual addition to the stock of money of the world. Formerly there was added every year all of the silver and all of the gold to the world's stock of primary or redemption money. Since that time there is added every year only the gold of the world, so that we have a constantly shrinking standard of value, with a constantly increasing population, which means a constantly decreasing scale of prices. [Applause.]

Now, when these great debts were created the world's standard and the world's measure of values consisted of the sum total of the two metals, considered practically as one. They formed the standard of prices. To-day the standard of prices consists of only one metal, and it is only half as high as it was when it consisted of the two, and, as a consequence, prices to-day are only half as high as they were when we had the two metals. [Applause.] What has been the result? Why, my fellow-citizens, to-day it takes all that the farmer, all that the producer, can scrape together to pay these fixed charges; all that he can get to pay interest, taxes, and other fixed charges, for, mind you, this great debt was not reduced, interest was not reduced, taxes were not reduced. On the contrary, they are higher than they were, and as a result our American market has been destroyed. The farmer now cannot buy as much at the store as he formerly could.

The result is that the farmer is prostrated, the merchant does less business, the railroads do less business, the manufacturer cannot sell his product, and the laborer finds that there is nobody to buy a thing that he makes, and he is out of employment.

Now, the question is, Shall we continue this system or shall we go back to where we were? [Voices, "No. No.



Go back.”] Gentlemen, we are suggesting nothing new, we are suggesting no experiments, we are simply declaring that when you pay a creditor in the same kind of money which he gave you that you are doing everything that God or man can demand at your hand. [Loud applause.] Now, gentlemen, those foreign people, those English money-lenders, they give us gold and silver and we propose to pay them back in the same money which they gave us. [Loud applause.] Let me say to you that the statement that silver has fallen is not sustained by the facts. A pound of silver to-day buys as much wheat, buys as much cotton, buys as much property of every kind, and buys as much labor as it ever did when we got that money. It is gold, the gold dollar, that has gone up to where it buys twice as much as it did. Now, shall these debts—these debts, my fellow-citizens, cannot be paid for centuries, and shall we now declare that our people must go on paying interest, paying principal with 200-cent dollars, or shall we go back and say we will pay in 100-cent dollars? [Loud applause.] But these English money-lenders and their American agents and representatives do not intend to give up the advantage they have gained. They are making a determined fight. Two weeks ago they went to St. Louis and they took charge of the Republican convention, an assembly that will go into history and that will mark an epoch in this country. [Applause.]

At that convention Mr. Hanna nominated a candidate for President—a candidate with one idea and that idea wrong. [Loud cheering and laughter.] That convention declared in favor of the present single standard of English gold, a standard which the London newspapers have complimented. They are delighted with it. An Englishman always feels good when he sees a prospect of getting more sweat and more blood out of the American people. [Loud cheering.] To be sure, they said something about a tariff

in that platform, but the moneyed people cared nothing about that; they knew that was simply a little dough intended to hide the hook. Now, then, after they have harnessed the Republican party to the English cart, the other members of the firm are here trying to put the same English halter upon this convention. [Loud cheering and laughter.] Are you going to allow them to do it? [Cries of "Never!" and "No, no!"] What are the arguments that you hear around the hotels and at your headquarters? You noticed some weeks ago these Eastern people declared that they would have nothing on earth but a single gold standard; but when they found that the people were against them—when they found that the Democracy of this country would not tolerate it—then they were willing to modify their demands. They have come on here and are talking compromise. "Get together and agree upon something that we can all accede to and indorse!" We are to do as we have done in the past; we are to adopt a declaration of principles which will not mean one thing to one man and another thing to another man; which will not mean one thing in one section of the country and another thing in another section, but which will mean exactly what we say it shall be. We will not adopt a platform which will enable these people to maintain a single gold standard.

These forces are powerful. They, the large banks in the East, control nearly all the banks through the country, so that a few banks in London and New York control the whole banking system of this country now. They control all the newspapers, all of the agencies that formulate thought, and we have recently had something like a money terrorism; any one who did not subscribe to their wishes was threatened with social, financial and political death. Catch phrases are invented. There was a time in the history of the world when men and women were

slaughtered in the name of liberty. We have seen a time when a great nation can be robbed in the name of an honest dollar. [Great and prolonged applause and cheering.] There are men who otherwise are intelligent and seem patriotic, who claim that they love their country, and yet who are doing all they can to fasten this English system upon our people. [Continued cheering.]

Now, fellow-citizens, shall we in this country stand squarely for liberty, or shall we straddle, shall we dodge? [Cries of "No, never."] Shall we put ourselves in the position of the steer which had jumped part-way over the fence and could neither hook before nor kick behind? [Laughter and applause.] Now, gentlemen, there is a principle involved here that rises above vote-getting, that rises above office-getting, a principle that affects the welfare of a great nation. In 1776 the question was, Shall Republican institutions be established in America? In 1896 the question is, Shall Republican institutions be perpetuated in America? [Applause and cheers.] Or shall we make the great toilers and producers of this country mere vassals, mere tribute-paying serfs to English capitalists? That is the question.

My fellow-citizens, England devours the substance of Ireland. She gathers the harvest in the Valley of the Nile; she has carried away the riches of India; she has ravished the islands of the sea; she has drawn the life-blood out of every people that have ever come under her domination. [Applause.] Shall this mighty nation, after we have triumphed over English armies upon land, after we have destroyed English fleets upon the waters—after we have triumphed upon every field of honor and field of glory—shall we now supinely surrender to English greed, English cunning and corruption? [Loud applause and cries of "No, no."]

My fellow-citizens, we must make no mistakes. Our

people are in earnest. They will have neither straddling on platform nor straddling on candidates [applause], and those prudent, cautious, wise gentlemen who have to consult the tin roosters every morning to see what their opinion should be during the day, shall have no show in this convention. [Applause and laughter.]

We must have a declaration of principles that will admit of no quibble. We must have a declaration of principles that will mean the same thing on the mountain, in the valley, and at the seashore. [Applause.] We must have a declaration of principles that we can hold up before all Israel and the Son.

Gentlemen, it is not the time to compromise. It is a time to be serious, because the question is serious. It involves the future of our country. If the present standard of values, the present standard of prices, is to be maintained, then the great producing classes of this country will be devoured by the fixed charges. They will have no money to buy the comforts of life. They will have no money to educate their families. We must resurrect the standard that existed when these debts were created. It is not a question that can be compromised. Compromise is proper when it involves only personal interest, but not when the interests of a great nation are at stake. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, just see how history repeats itself. In 1776 the money classes in our country were opposed to the Declaration of Independence. [Applause.] They represented foreign interests, and they talked compromise. In 1861 the money classes of the East were opposed to making great sacrifices to maintain the Union. They talked compromise. In 1896 the same interests are again represented, and they talk compromise. [Applause.]

My fellow-citizens, the men that compromise never yet

an up the flag of freedom. [Applause.] The spirit of compromise never yet laid the foundation of Republican institutions. [Applause.] No compromise army ever fought the battles of liberty. [Applause.] Go search the hundred thousand graves found on hill tops, found in forests and in fields, where sleep the men who died to uphold this flag, and you will not find the bones of a single man that talked compromise. [Applause.] They stood erect and said to the Almighty, "Here are our lives."

Gentlemen, the time has come when the Democratic party must announce to the world that we stand for great principles, that we stand for those principles that offer hope to humanity, and here are our lives to defend them. [Applause.] And if this convention will rise to the occasion, as I believe it will, if this convention will rise to meet the needs of a great people, then, gentlemen, our morning will be wrapped in splendor. If we do that then the ides of November will usher in a new century of prosperity, of industry, of enterprise, and of happiness. It will usher in a century which in grandeur and in glory will surpass any of those that have gone before. Gentlemen, I thank you very much.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN TO THE  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:  
I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentleman to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability, but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. [Loud applause.] When this debate is concluded a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration and also the resolution in condemnation of the administration. I shall object to bringing this question down to a level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies, but principles are eternal, and this has been a contest of principle.

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out, as this issue has been, by the voters themselves.

On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was

the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of a majority of the Democratic party to control the position of the party on this paramount issue; concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize and take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly, and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that if successful they would crystallize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by the plain people of this country. [Applause.]

In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother and father against father. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. [Cheers.] Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we knew that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. [Cheers.] I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought

into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded (Governor Russell) spoke of the old State of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the State of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest citizens in the State of Massachusetts. [Applause.] When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. [Great applause and cheering.] We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of business man. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer. [Continued cheering.] The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain.

[The sentiments of the speaker were cheered again and again, and the galleries seemed to be a mass of white because of the handkerchiefs waving. The cheers were renewed again and again, and it was some minutes before Mr. Bryan could be heard. He proceeded as follows:]

The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding-places the precious metals to be poured in the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who in a back room corner the money of the world.



[The free silver delegates at this point broke forth in tremendous cheers, standing on chairs and waving their hats and banners frantically. Order was finally restored and Mr. Bryan continued:]

We come to speak for this broader class of business men. Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast; but those hardy pioneers who braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near to nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school-houses for the education of their young, and churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country. [Great applause.]

It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families and posterity. [Loud applause.] We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked, and our calamity came.

We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! [Great applause and confusion in the silver delegation.]

The gentleman from Wisconsin has said he fears a Robespierre. My friend, in this land of the free you need fear no tyrant who will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of aggrandized wealth. [Great applause.]

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new

issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen and we are attempting to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that is a new idea. They criticise us for our criticisms of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticised. We have simply called attention to what you know. If you want criticism read the dissenting opinions of the court. That will give you criticisms. [Applause.]

They say we passed an unconstitutional law. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one judge changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. [Applause, and voice, "Hit 'em again."]

The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. [Applause.]

When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours. [Applause.]

He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said you will find that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracies of Catiline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. [Applause.]

We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of govern-

ment. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation. [Applause.]

Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have a different opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson, rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of the government and that the banks ought to go out of the government business.

They complain about the plank which declares against the life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose in that plank is the life tenure that is being built up in Washington, which excludes from participation in the benefits the humbler members of our society. I cannot dwell longer in my limited time. [Cries of "Go on; go on."]

Let me call attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in our law shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which, according to the present laws, are made payable in gold. But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, but now insists that we must protect the creditor. He

says he also wants to amend this law and provide that if we fail to maintain a parity within a year that we will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe will be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we can. I ask him, if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why doesn't he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement?

There is more reason for him to do that than for us to fail to maintain the parity. They have tried for thirty years—for thirty years—to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who don't want it at all. [Cheering; laughter, long continued.]

[The chairman rapped for order and a pause of considerable length ensued before the speaker could proceed.]

Mr. Bryan (continuing)—Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished. [Cheers.]

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of this country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold

standard did not think that we could elect a president; but they had good reason for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican party. [Loud cheering.] But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans and everybody three months ago in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, that man who used to boast that he looked like Napoleon—[laughter and cheers]—that man shudders to-day when he thinks that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

[At the suggestion of a coincidence between McKinley's nomination and the fate of Napoleon at Waterloo the silver men showed their appreciation of the point by a yell and an uproar which for twenty or thirty seconds prevented the speaker from proceeding. At length, when things calmed down a trifle, he resumed as follows:

Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena. [Cheers.]

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? It is no private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, that can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who will either declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this people or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in the hands of foreign potentates and powers. [Cheers.]

My friends, the prospect——

[The continued cheering made it impossible for the

speaker to proceed; it was renewed as the chairman vainly and repeatedly rapped for order. Finally Mr. Bryan, raising his hand, obtained silence long enough to say that he had only ten minutes left, and he asked the audience to let him occupy that time. He then resumed:]

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue in this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. Why, if they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing we point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of a gold standard and substitute bimetallism. [Applause.] If the gold standard is a good thing why try to get rid of it? [Laughter and continued applause.] If the gold standard, and I might call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day, and who tell you that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism and thereby declare that the gold standard is wrong, and that the principle of bimetallism is better—these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard and telling us that we could not legislate two metals together even with all the world. [Renewed applause and cheers.]

I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let go? [Applause.]

Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. [Applause.]

If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that we can present the history of our nation. More than that. We can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. [Applause.] They can find where the holders of fixed investments have.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country, and, my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon, which side shall the Democratic party fight?

Upon the side of the idle holders of idle capital, or upon the side of the struggling masses? That is the question that the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as described by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses, who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. [Applause.]

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class and rest upon it. [Applause.]

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms

and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country. [Applause.]

My friends, we shall declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth—[Applause]—and upon that issue we expect to carry every single state in this Union. [Applause.]

I shall not slander the fair State of Massachusetts nor the State of New York by saying that when its citizens are confronted with the proposition, Is this nation able to attend to its own business?—I will not slander either one by saying that the people of those States will declare our helpless impotency as a nation to attend to our own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but 3,000,000, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to 70,000,000, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of this people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but we cannot have it till some nation helps us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has. [Applause.]

If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE SILVER QUESTION ACCORDING TO THE GREAT POLITICAL LEADERS—HON. WM. P. ST. JOHN TO THE SILVER CONVENTION.

It is among the first principles in finance that the value of each dollar, expressed in prices, depends upon the total number of dollars in circulation. The plane of prices is high when the number of dollars in circulation is great in proportion to the number of things to be exchanged by means of dollars, and low when the dollars are proportionately few. The plane of prices at present and for some time past is and has been ruinously low.

The increase of our population at about two millions a year, scattered over our immense territory, calls for increasing exchanges and thereby demands an increasing number of dollars in circulation. The increase in the number of dollars when dollars are confined to gold is not sufficiently rapid to meet the growth of our exchanges. The consequence is a growing value of dollars or a diminishing value of everything else expressed in dollars, which is to say a tendency toward constantly declining prices.

The fountain-head of our prosperity has run dry. Our farmers all over the country have endured the depression in prices until they get about \$8 or \$9 per acre for an expenditure of \$10 per acre, and the like. Their credit is exhausted at their country stores. The country store ceases to order from the city merchant, the city merchant reduces his demand upon the manufacturer. Manufactures are curtailed.

The consequence is that employees and all elements of labor are being discharged, and wages are lowered to those who continue in employment. The sufferings of the farmers, who constitute nearly one-half of our population, are thus enforced upon the city merchant, the manufacturer and all forms of labor. These combined elements constitute the overwhelming majority of voters. Their intelligent conclusion will be felt when expressed at the polls.

The banker also is without prosperity unless prosperity is general throughout the United States. He must learn to distinguish between cheap money and money commanding a low rate of interest. The dollar worth two bushels of wheat is a dear dollar, and yet it commands interest in Wall street at present of but 2 per cent. per annum on call. If the dollar can be cheapened by increasing the number of dollars, so that each dollar will buy less wheat, the increasing price of wheat will increase the demand for dollars to invest in its production.

Then the borrower of dollars to invest in the production of wheat, being reasonably sure of a profit from that employment of the money, can afford to pay interest for its use as a part of his profit. In other words, interest is a share of the profit on the employment of money. So that abundant money, money readily obtainable, which is to say really cheap money, is the money which commands a high rate of interest, as a share of the profit of the borrower in using it.

As we appeal to the country in the justice of our cause one or two points of common inquiry must be satisfied, as follows:

The experience of Mexico is held up for our alarm. We answer, first, that Mexico is conspicuously prosperous at home. Her increase in manufactures, railway earnings and the like in recent years is phenomenal. Second,

Mexico is no criterion for the United States, for the reason that she has a foreign trade indebtedness of about \$20,000,000 annually in excess of the value of her exports of cotton, sugar, coffee, hides and the like, which must be paid for in the surplus product of her mines. Her silver, therefore, goes abroad as merchandise, and at a valuation fixed by the outside world.

The United States, on the other hand, is a nation of seventy millions of people, scattered over a territory seventeen times the area of France. A single one of our railway systems, the Erie, exceeds the aggregate railway mileage of all Mexico. We offer an employment for money to an aggregate greater than the world's spare silver will furnish us. Hence our silver money, at home and abroad, will be valued as the money of the United States.

The opposition threatens us with a flood of Europe's silver upon our reopened mints. We answer Europe has no silver but her silver money. Her silver money values silver at from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar higher than ours. Hence the European merchant or banker must sacrifice from 3 to 7 per cent. of his full legal-tender money in order to recoin it at our mints. Europe's silverware, like America's silverware, carries in it the additional value of labor and the manufacturer's profit.

They threaten us with a flood of silver from the far East. We answer that the course of silver is invariably eastward and never toward the West. British India is a perpetual sink of silver, absorbing it, never to return, by from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000 worth every year. And India's absorption of silver will be enlarged by the steadiness of price for silver fixed by our reopened mints.

They threaten us with a "sudden retirement of \$600,000,000 gold with the accompanying panic, causing contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled." We an-

swer that our total stock of gold other than about \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 circulating on the Pacific coast, is already in retirement. Practically all our gold is in the United States treasury or held by banks.

The gold in the treasury will remain there if the secretary avails himself of his option to redeem United States notes in silver.

The gold in the banks constitutes the quiet and undisturbed portion of their reserves against their liabilities. It will continue to do money duty as such reserves after free coinage for silver is enacted. Hence a premium on it will not contract the currency. The utmost possible contraction of the currency will be the few millions circulating on the Pacific coast, and this will be retired but slowly.

A similar threat of a flight of gold was made for the Bland act of 1878. President Hayes was urged to veto it, but Congress passed it over the veto. Instead of a flight of gold, as had been predicted, we gained by importation \$4,000,000 the first year, \$70,000,000 the next year and \$90,000,000 the third year. During the twelve years that the act was on the statute book we gained \$221,000,000 of foreign gold.

Instead of the destruction of our credit abroad, as had been predicted, the United States 4 per cent. loan which stood at 101 on the day of the enactment, sold at 120 per cent. within three years, and at 130 per cent. subsequently. Instead of defeating the resumption of specie payments on January 1 of the following year, the 24,000,000 silver dollars which were coined in 1878 and circulated by means of the silver certificates, reduced the demand upon the government for gold. Hence the threat of disaster now is without historic foundation.

This, then, is what will follow the reopening of our mints to silver: The gold already in the treasury will

remain there, if common sense dictates the treasury management; that is, if the treasurer exercises the option to redeem United States notes in silver. A premium on gold will not occasion a contraction of the currency, bank hoards of gold continuing to serve as a portion of bank reserves against bank liabilities. A premium on gold will tend to increase our exports by causing a higher rate of foreign exchange—that is to say, by yielding a larger net return in dollars on the sale of bills of exchange drawn against goods exported. A premium will tend to diminish our imports by increasing the cost of bills of exchange with which to pay for goods imported.

The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, first, to set our spindles running, swell the number of paid operatives, increase their wages, thereby adding to the number and paying capacity of consumers, and thus enlarge our home market for all home products and manufactures, with prosperity in general as the result assured.

The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, second, to establish a credit balance of trade for the United States. A credit balance of trade means that Europe has become our debtor and must settle with us in money. Europe's silver money is overvalued in her gold, compared with ours, by from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar. The European merchant or banker will therefore make his trade settlements with us in gold, more profitably by from 3 to 7 per cent. than in silver. With the instant that European trade settlements with the United States are made in gold, parity for our gold and silver money is established in the markets of the world.

Therewith, the 371.25 grains of pure silver in our silver dollar and the 23.22 grains of gold in our gold dollar become of exactly equal worth, as bullion, in New York.

SENATOR WILLIAM M. STEWART, OF NEVADA, TO THE  
BRYAN AND SEWALL CLUB, NO. 1, OF NEW YORK.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS: There is not half as much money paid to labor as there would be if times were good and we had more industries. The continuance of the payment of labor depends upon the industries. I know if a man has a fixed income and has an office for life, if he could be an aristocrat, the dear money would be the money he would receive. [Applause.] The laborers of this country are interested in having all employed, in having all doing something, and nobody living on charity. [Applause.] The idea of seventy millions of people willing to work, but denied the opportunity, and then being called anarchists because they complain of their position! The American people are not anarchists. [Great applause.] The American people will sustain this government in the future as they have done in the past. Who are the anarchists? The men who conspire to deprive the American people of opportunities to live. [Applause.]

If you make tramps of them they are human beings and they will resent persecution. I wonder if Wall street does not understand that they are laboring to make anarchists of the American people? [Loud applause.] A man whose family is starving and who is willing to work, but cannot find employment because business is stagnant and prices falling, feels differently than a man who has accumulated \$100,000,000 by fraudulent practices. The man who will combine to contract the volume of money for the purpose of wrecking other men's fortunes is an anarchist. [Applause.] If the robbers will take their hands off, the people will be as happy and as prosperous as before. Give us back the coinage laws of the better days of the Republic. Give us more money, prosperity and business, so that all who are willing to work can sup-

port their families. A more loyal people than the Americans never lived, and I hurl back upon Lombard and Wall streets and their pharisees the charge of anarchy. [Applause.] I say that the American people are not anarchists. [Cheers.] It is those who are robbing them, the wreckers of mankind, that are anarchists, and they seem determined to drive them to extremities. I have wondered if it were possible for the American people to learn who their enemies were and overcome them. I have waited for this uprising. I have prophesied it for years. [Applause.] It has come. [Applause.]

I went to Chicago and saw it born. I saw 620 American people, not one of whom could be bought. I saw them stand up and defy the anarchists of wealth with all their allurements. I saw them stand up and demand a return to the better days of the Republic. I never was as happy in my life as in seeing those brave men stand by the right. [Applause.]

William J. Bryan—[cheers]—I know him well. He is as true, as brave, and as talented a man as ever lived in this country. He is as unselfish as any man I ever met. I have discussed political questions with him day in and day out. He came to the convention not as a candidate. The other candidates had their headquarters at their hotels, but Mr. Bryan went to an unpretentious hotel with his wife and took a small room. He owes no man a dollar, and never did. He is determined to be independent all the time. His delegation was excluded by the national committee, although it was the rightful delegation. The committee sent for Mr. Bryan and asked him to defend the platform. He said he would do the best he could. It is said the speech was prepared. It was not prepared. It was a masterful reply to Hill. [Loud applause.]

I tell you, fellow citizens, a purer, stronger, abler, bet-

ter man never was nominated for President of the United States. No matter how you vote he will be elected. I went to two other conventions at St. Louis—the Populist and the Silver conventions. [Applause.] The silver convention was composed of a body of men the equal of which is not often seen assembled together. The majority of them were men who had left the Republican party. They made their speeches indorsing Bryan and passed their resolutions, and went home. The Populist convention consisted of 1,300, and there the popularity of Bryan was such that it could not be resisted. As a matter of fact, he received over 1,000 votes in that convention. Nothing could prevent the people from voting for Bryan. No matter what arrangements they make, the people of the United States will elect him as their President in November next. [Cheers.] The shackles will be thrown off of prosperity and the gold men will be saved from themselves.

The Rothschild combination is a great big Gould. These men have gone through all your railroads, wrecking fortunes. It is a great combination. This gang of wreckers was regarded at Washington as the only business community during the administrations of Harrison and Cleveland. These wreckers go to Washington and the doors are opened. They have grown rich under Harrison and Cleveland and will continue to do so if McKinley is elected. [Applause.] These men can take \$100,000,000 of bonds and sell them at a profit of \$10,000,000, can wreck railroads and the country, and still be regarded as the only business community. [Applause.] These wreckers will be discharged next November and the honest merchant and farmer and mechanic will become a part of the American people. [Applause.] Oh, I have longed for this day. [Applause.] I have seen the two old parties telling you lies, declaring for bimetallism, and then in



office I have seen them conspire for the purpose of carrying out these wrongs. But, thank God, the Republican party finally pleads guilty. [Applause.] It has pleaded guilty of being the enemy to the American people, and a verdict of guilty will be ordered against that party in November.

The Republicans have pleaded guilty to the infamous gold standard, and the Democrats and Populists and Silverites have declared for silver, for the money of the constitution, and they have expelled from them the guilty men whose aim it is to send the party to perdition. [Applause.] Whatever demagogues may do, whatever place-hunters may do, the people have taken the matter in their own hands and will deliver the country over to those for whom it was ordained.

HON. RICHARD P. BLAND ON THE SILVER ISSUE.

The Wall Street party and its advocates insist that there can be no good money that depends upon the fiat of the Government of the United States; that the fiat of Europe is all right, and that the fiat of Uncle Sam is weak.

Let us examine into the question. After all, what is fiat money? Is there any money in this country that is not fiat money? People by common consent may accept a bank note or other forms of currency, but such currency is not money in any true sense. There is not a dollar in existence in the United States of real money that is not fiat money. All the gold of the world would not pay a single debt but for the fiat of the Federal Government, nor would all the silver of the world pay a dollar of debt except by the fiat of our Government. This is made too plain for argument.

Should a suit be instituted in court to collect a debt, should that debt be one hundred dollars, yet if the debtor

tendered in court a thousand dollars' worth of gold bullion or of silver bullion, the creditor would not be compelled to take it, for the bullion thus offered would not be a legal tender. And this is so with regard to all foreign coins, whether such coins be gold or silver. The laws of our country by the fiat of our Government, declare what shall be a legal tender. This is the fiat of the Government, and without this fiat there is no money. A judgment calling for one thousand dollars cannot be paid by tendering all the gold coins and all the silver coins in the world outside of this country. Nothing can satisfy and discharge that judgment except the fiat of our own Government. Our law declares what shall be legal tenders, and the money issued under this fiat, and having this legal fiat behind it, is the only money with which a debtor can discharge his debt; therefore, there is no money except fiat money.

The gold coinage of the United States and the standard silver dollar of our country, and our paper legal tender notes are the only moneys that have the fiat of the Government behind them, and, consequently, are the only moneys that a debtor can compel his creditor to receive in the discharge of his debt. The gold dollar is as much a fiat dollar as the silver dollar or a paper dollar, for none of them are money without this fiat. A distinction may here be drawn between the paper fiat money and the precious metals. Paper money may be issued without limit whatever. There is no limit to the manufacture of paper.

The piece of paper on which one dollar is issued may be used with equal propriety and facility to print on it one billion of dollars. Paper may be and can be issued to such an extent as to depreciate the money to the value of the paper on which it is written. Paper money may also be made as valuable as gold or silver by limiting the quantity of the issue. The difference between paper

money and metallic money, or rather a system based upon paper issues alone and a system based upon the use of gold and silver is quite apparent in this connection.

In all the history of the world neither gold nor silver has been produced in excess of the necessary demands of the world for money. Silver and gold cannot be manufactured. Their volume cannot possibly be increased or inflated or contracted at the mere whim of the Legislature unless by demonetizing one or both of the metals or by debasing them. When a government establishes a ratio—that is to say, when it declares, as we propose, that sixteen ounces of silver can be coined into money of the same value as one ounce of gold; that sixteen ounces of silver shall pay as much debt as one ounce of gold, and open the mints to the unlimited coinage of both metals at this ratio, it means that nature shall do the rest and the laws of trade and commerce shall regulate the volume.

Nature has set its seal of limitation upon the product of silver and of gold. It requires the science of the geologist, the genius of the machinist and all the appliances of scientific chemistry, as well as the ingenuity of the man, to extract these metals and separate them from the baser composition with which they are found. It is said, and truly said, that it requires a gold mine to work a silver mine. The cost of producing the precious metals, on the average, is probably greater than the value of the metals after their production. The supply being thus limited, and the cost of production being practically fixed, it is impossible to overproduce the precious metals or unduly inflate the currency under the free coinage of both.

This has been the argument in all ages, and is to-day, why precious metals should be used as the basis for our money instead of paper. So that the fiat of Uncle Sam, under the bimetallic law, will give a demand for money coming from the mines of silver that will maintain its

value as the equal of gold. It will give the opportunity for the industrial people of this country to use silver as well as gold.

And should the owners of gold corner that metal, as they now have done, and create an enormous demand for it as is now the case, owing to the demonetization of silver should, as now, the owners of gold insist that all their bonds and mortgages be paid in gold—under the free coinage system the people would have another source of supply; a competitor with the owners of gold would be upon the scene. The silver miner and owners of silver would at once come in competition with the miners and owners of gold, and thus open up a new avenue of escape for the oppressed debtor and for the people who must have money. Thus the silver of the world, as a supply for money, would come in connection with the gold supply; and should gold be hoarded or exported to other countries, then the silver would take its place and our demand for gold would immediately cease and be transferred to a demand for silver.

The great demand of 70,000,000 of people in our country, with \$70,000,000,000,000 of wealth to be exchanged for silver; with some twelve or fifteen millions' worth of commodities produced annually to be exchanged for silver; in other words, the great demand for the people of the United State for money—a demand that exceeds that of all Europe combined—and this demand being made upon silver, and silver only, because of the hoarding or exportation of gold, would immediately bring the par of silver to gold, or practically so. This is the law of bimetallism as laid down by the fathers and by the scientific writers upon the subject. Should gold become scarce and hard to obtain the people have the right to draw upon the silver supply.

For this reason creditors would not be crushed, the

business and prosperity of the country would not be checked for the want of a medium of exchange. On the other hand, should silver become scarce and its production cease, and gold should be that plentiful and its production largely increased, they have the right to the use of gold. And the great demand that this use would make for gold would maintain its value as compared to silver, and prevent a contraction of the volume of money, the bankruptcy of creditors and the ruin of the business interests of the country, for the want of a medium of exchange.

THERE IS A SAFE WAY UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION OF BREAKING UP THE GOLD TRUST, AND THAT IS TO RESTORE BIMETALLISM, BRINGING SILVER IN COMPETITION WITH GOLD, AS MONEY.

But the Republican party in its platform declares that this shall not be; that the owners of gold and the gold miners shall have a monopoly of the monetary supply; that the few enormously rich men in this country, and others, shall have the power to seize upon the monetary supply; to own it and control it, and to compel mankind to give in property and commodities whatever these trusts and combines may demand for their gold.

This gold trust is at the head of all trusts and combines in this country. When the money volume is cornered it enables the owner of that money volume to corner all products. The Standard Oil Trust has cornered the product of petroleum and fixes the prices for that commodity for the people of this country at the will of the combine. The monopolies of this country, by use of this trust, has gotten control of the beef market. They fix the price of the product of beef to the farmer, and also the price to the consumer. They also enable the grain

speculators and gamblers to practically dominate and control prices of products.

Thus it will be seen that the trusts and combines are enabled to monopolize the market of nearly all the products of labor. A few men, owning and controlling the product of gold and the money volume, seize upon the avenue of industry and fix a monopoly upon nearly everything produced and everything consumed; so that under this system of trusts and combinations a few men are being made rich and accumulating their millions every year—building up enormous fortunes and at the same time impoverishing the great laboring masses of the people.

WHEN WE SHALL HAVE BROKEN THIS MONEY TRUST WITH SILVER IN COMPETITION WITH GOLD, WE SHALL HAVE STRUCK A DEADLY BLOW TO ALL THE TRUSTS AND COMBINES THAT ARE NOW SUCKING THE LIFE BLOOD OF THE PEOPLE.

MR. BRYAN'S ACCEPTATION SPEECH.

DELIVERED AT NEW YORK CITY AUGUST 12, 1896.

The notification meeting took place in Madison Square Garden, New York, at eight o'clock in the evening before twelve thousand people. Outside of the Garden were between twenty and thirty thousand people, who were there to hear Mr. Bryan after he had concluded his formal address of acceptance.

Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was notified of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

After the speech of notification by Governor Stone, of Missouri, who was introduced by Chairman Elliott Danforth, of this State, Mr. Bryan spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Committee and Fellow Citizens:

I shall, at a future day and in a formal letter, accept the nomination which is now tendered by the Notification Committee, and I shall at that time touch upon the issues presented by the platform. It is fitting, however, that at this time, in the presence of those here assembled, I speak at some length in regard to the campaign upon which we are now entering. We do not underestimate the forces arrayed against us, nor are we unmindful of the importance of the struggle in which we are engaged, but, relying for success upon the righteousness of our cause, we shall defend with all possible vigor the positions taken by our party.

We are not surprised that some of our opponents, in the absence of better argument, resort to abusive epithets, but they may rest assured that no language, however violent; no invect-

ives, however vehement, will lead us to depart a single hair's breadth from the course marked out by the National Convention. The citizen, either public or private, who assails the character and questions the patriotism of the delegates assembled in the Chicago Convention, assails the character and questions the patriotism of the millions who have arrayed themselves under the banner there raised.

It has been charged by men standing high in business and political circles that our platform is a menace to private security and public safety, and it has been asserted that those whom I have the honor, for the time being, to represent, not only meditate an attack upon the rights of property, but are the foes both of social order and national honor.

Those who stand upon the Chicago platform are prepared to make known and to defend every motive which influences them, every purpose which animates them, and every hope which inspires them. They understand the genius of our institutions, they are staunch supporters of the form of government under which we live, and they build their faith upon foundations laid by the fathers. Andrew Jackson has stated, with admirable clearness and with an emphasis which cannot be surpassed, both the duty and the sphere of the government. He said: "Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education or of wealth cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law."

#### EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW.

We yield to none in our devotion to the doctrine just enunciated. Our campaign has not for its object the reconstruction of society. We cannot insure to the vicious the fruits of a virtuous life; we would not invade the home of the provident in order to supply the wants of the spendthrift; we do not propose to transfer the rewards of industry to the lap of indolence. Property is and will remain the stimulus to endeavor and the compensation for toil. We believe, as asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal; but that does not mean that all men are or can be equal in possessions, in ability or in merit; it simply means that all shall stand equal before the law, and that government officials shall not, in mak-



ing, construing or enforcing the law, discriminate between citizens.

I assert that property rights, as well as the rights of persons, are safe in the hands of the common people. Abraham Lincoln, in his message sent to Congress in December, 1861, said: "No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned." I repeat his language with unqualified approval, and join with him in the warning which he added, namely: "Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which power, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the doors of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost." Those who daily follow the injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," are now, as they ever have been, the bulwark of law and order—the source of our nation's greatness in time of peace, and its surest defenders in time of war.

But I have only read a part of Jackson's utterance—let me give you his conclusion: "But when the laws undertake to add to those natural and just advantages artificial distinctions—to grant titles, gratuities and exclusive privileges—to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful—the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics and the day laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors for themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government." Those who support the Chicago platform indorse all of the quotation from Jackson—the latter part as well as the former part.

We are not surprised to find arrayed against us those who are the beneficiaries of government favoritism—they have read our platform. Nor are we surprised to learn that we must in this campaign face the hostility of those who find a pecuniary advantage in advocating the doctrine of non-interference when great aggregations of wealth are trespassing upon the rights of individuals. We welcome such opposition—it is the highest indorsement which could be bestowed upon us. We are content to have the co-operation of those who desire to have the government administered without fear or favor.

It is not the wish of the general public that Trusts should

spring into existence and override the weaker members of society; it is not the wish of the general public that these Trusts should destroy competition and then collect such tax as they will from those who are at their mercy; nor is it the fault of the general public that the instrumentalities of government have been so often prostituted to purposes of private gain. Those who stand upon the Chicago platform believe that the government should not only avoid wrongdoing, but that it should also prevent wrongdoing; and they believe that the law should be enforced alike against all enemies of the public weal. They do not excuse petit larceny, but they declare that grand larceny is equally a crime; they do not defend the occupation of the highwayman who robs the unsuspecting traveler, but they include among the transgressors those who, through the more polite and less hazardous means of legislation, appropriate to their own use the proceeds of the toil of others.

#### PROTECTION FOR THE CITIZEN.

The commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," thundered from Sinai, and reiterated in the legislation of all nations, is no respecter of persons. It must be applied to the great as well as the small, to the strong as well as the weak, to the corporate person created by law as well as to the person of flesh and blood created by the Almighty. No government is worthy of the name which is not able to protect from every arm uplifted for his injury the humblest citizen who lives beneath the flag. It follows as a necessary conclusion that vicious legislation must be remedied by the people who suffer from the effects of such legislation, and not by those who enjoy its benefits.

The Chicago platform has been condemned by some because it dissents from an opinion rendered by the Supreme Court declaring the Income Tax law unconstitutional. Our critics even go so far as to apply the name anarchist to those who stand upon that plank of the platform. It must be remembered that we expressly recognize the binding force of that decision so long as it stands as a part of the law of the land. There is in the platform no suggestion of an attempt to dispute the authority of the Supreme Court. The party is simply pledged to use "all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted." Is there any disloyalty in that pledge?

For a hundred years the Supreme Court of the United States has sustained the principle which underlies the income tax. Some twenty years ago this same court sustained without a dissenting voice an income tax law almost identical with the one recently overthrown; has not a future court as much right to return to the judicial precedents of a century as the present court had to depart from them? When courts allow rehearings they admit that error is possible; the late decision against the income tax was rendered by a majority of one after a rehearing.

While the money question overshadows all other questions in importance, I desire it distinctly understood that I shall offer no apology for the income tax plank of the Chicago platform. The last Income Tax law sought to apportion the burdens of the government more equitably among those who enjoy the protection of the government. At present the expenses of the Federal government, collected through internal revenue taxes and import duties, are especially burdensome upon the poorer classes of society. A law which collects from some citizens more than their share of the taxes and collects from other citizens less than their share, is simply an indirect means of transferring one man's property to another man's pocket, and while the process may be quite satisfactory to the men who escape just taxation it can never be satisfactory to those who are overburdened.

#### CONCERNING THE INCOME TAX.

The last Income Tax law, with its exemption provisions, when considered in connection with other methods of taxation in force, was not unjust to the possessors of large incomes, because they were not compelled to pay a total Federal tax greater than their share. The income tax is not new, nor is it based upon hostility to the rich. The system is employed in several of the most important nations of Europe, and every Income Tax law now upon the statute books in any land, so far as I have been able to ascertain, contains an exemption clause. While the collection of an income tax in other countries does not make it necessary for this nation to adopt the system, yet it ought to moderate the language of those who denounce the income tax as an assault upon the well-to-do.

Not only shall I refuse to apologize for the advocacy of an Income Tax law by the National Convention, but I shall also

refuse to apologize for the exercise by it of the right to dissent from a decision of the Supreme Court. In a government like ours every public official is a public servant, whether he holds office by election or by appointment, whether he serves for a term of years or during good behavior, and the people have a right to criticize his official acts. "Confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government exists in jealousy and not in confidence"—these are the words of Thomas Jefferson, and I submit that they present a truer conception of popular government than that entertained by those who would prohibit an unfavorable comment upon a court decision. Truth will vindicate itself; only error fears free speech. No public official who conscientiously discharges his duty as he sees it will desire to deny to those whom he serves the right to discuss his official conduct.

Now, let me ask you to consider the paramount question of this campaign—the money question. It is scarcely necessary to defend the principle of bimetallism. No national party during the entire history of the United States has ever declared against it, and no party in this campaign has had the temerity to oppose it. Three parties—the Democratic, Populist and Silver parties—have not only declared for bimetallism, but have outlined the specific legislation necessary to restore silver to its ancient position by the side of gold. The Republican platform expressly declares that bimetallism is desirable when it pledges the Republican party to aid in securing it as soon as the assistance of certain foreign nations can be obtained.

#### GOLD STANDARD FOUND WANTING.

Those who represented the minority sentiment in the Chicago Convention opposed the free coinage of silver by the United States by independent action on the ground that, in their judgment, it "would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallism, to which the efforts of the government should be steadily directed." When they asserted that the efforts of the government should be steadily directed towards the establishment of international bimetallism they condemned monometallism. The gold standard has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Take from it the powerful support of the money-owning and the money-changing classes and it cannot stand for one day in any nation in the

world. It was fastened upon the United States without discussion before the people, and its friends have never yet been willing to risk a verdict before the voters upon that issue.

There can be no sympathy or co-operation between the advocates of a universal gold standard and the advocates of bimetallism. Between bimetallism—whether independent or international—and the gold standard there is an impassable gulf. Is this quadrennial agitation in favor of international bimetallism conducted in good faith, or do our opponents really desire to maintain the gold standard permanently? Are they willing to confess the superiority of a double standard when joined in by the leading nations of the world, or do they still insist that gold is the only metal suitable for standard money among civilized nations?

If they are in fact desirous of securing bimetallism, we may expect them to point out the evils of a gold standard and defend bimetallism as a system. If, on the other hand, they are bending their energies toward the permanent establishment of a gold standard under cover of a declaration in favor of international bimetallism, I am justified in suggesting that honest money cannot be expected at the hands of those who deal dishonestly with the American people.

#### NO SUCH THING AS A STANDARD.

What is the test of honesty in money? It must certainly be found in the purchasing power of the dollar. An absolutely honest dollar would not vary in its general purchasing power; it would be absolutely stable when measured by average prices. A dollar which increases in purchasing power is just as dishonest as a dollar which decreases in purchasing power. Professor Laughlin, now of the University of Chicago, and one of the highest gold standard authorities, in his work on bimetallism not only admits that gold does not remain absolutely stable in value, but expressly asserts "that there is no such thing as a standard of value for future payments, either in gold or silver, which remains absolutely invariable."

He even suggests that a multiple standard, wherein the unit is "based upon the selling prices of a number of articles of general consumption," would be a more just standard than either gold or silver, or both, because "a long time contract would thereby be paid at its maturity by the same purchasing power as was given in the beginning."

It cannot be successfully claimed that monometallism or bimetallicism, or any other system, gives an absolutely just standard of value. Under both monometallism and bimetallicism the government fixes the weight and fineness of the dollar, invests it with legal tender qualities, and then opens the mints to its unrestricted coinage, leaving the purchasing power of the dollar to be determined by the number of dollars. Bimetallicism is better than monometallism, not because it gives us a perfect dollar—that is, a dollar absolutely unvarying in its general power—but because it makes a nearer approach to stability, to honesty, to justice, than a gold standard possibly can.

Prior to 1873, when there was enough open mints to permit all the gold and silver available for coinage to find entrance into the world's volume of standard money, the United States might have maintained a gold standard with less injury to the people of this country; but now, when each step toward a universal gold standard enhances the purchasing power of gold, depresses prices and transfers to the pockets of the creditor class an unearned increment, the influence of this great nation must be thrown upon the side of gold, unless we are prepared to accept the natural and legitimate consequences of such an act. Any legislation which lessens the world's stock of money increases the exchangeable value of the dollar; therefore, the crusade against silver must inevitably raise the purchasing power of money and lower the money value of other forms of property.

#### MISTAKE TO DEMONETIZE SILVER.

Our opponents sometimes admit that it was a mistake to demonetize silver, but insist that we should submit to present conditions rather than return to the bimetallic system. They err in supposing that we have reached the end of the evil results of a gold standard; we have not reached the end. The injury is a continuing one, and no person can say how long the world is to suffer from the attempt to make gold the only standard money. The same influences which are now operating to destroy silver in the United States will, if successful here, be turned against other silver using countries, and each new convert to the gold standard will add to the general distress. So long as the scramble for gold continues, prices must fall, and a general fall in prices is but another definition of hard times.

Our opponents, while claiming entire disinterestedness for themselves, have appealed to the selfishness of nearly every class of society. Recognizing the disposition of the individual voter to consider the effect of any proposed legislation upon himself, we present to the American people the financial policy outlined in the Chicago platform, believing that it will result in the greatest good to the greatest number.

The farmers are opposed to the gold standard because they have felt its effects. Since they sell at wholesale and buy at retail they have lost more than they have gained by falling prices, and, besides this, they have found that certain fixed charges have not fallen at all.

Taxes have not been perceptibly decreased, although it requires more of farm products now than formerly to secure the money with which to pay taxes. Debts have not fallen. The farmer who owed \$1,000 is still compelled to pay \$1,000, although it may be twice as difficult as formerly to obtain the dollars with which to pay the debt. Railroad rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices, and besides these items there are many more. The farmer has thus found it more and more difficult to live. Has he not a just complaint against the gold standard?

The wage-earners have been injured by a gold standard, and have expressed themselves upon the subject with great emphasis. In February, 1895, a petition asking for the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1 was signed by the representatives of all, or nearly all, the leading labor organizations and presented to Congress. Wage-earners know that while a gold standard raises the purchasing power of the dollar it also makes it more difficult to obtain possession of the dollar; they know that employment is less permanent, loss of work more probable and re-employment less certain.

#### DISCOURAGES ENTERPRISE.

A gold standard encourages the hoarding of money because money is rising; it also discourages enterprise and paralyzes industry. On the other hand, the restoration of bimetallism will discourage hoarding, because, when prices are steady or rising, money cannot afford to lie idle in the bank vaults. The

farmers and wage-earners together constitute a considerable majority of the people of the country. Why should their interests be ignored in considering financial legislation? A monetary system which is pecuniarily advantageous to a few syndicates has far less to commend it than a system which would give hope and encouragement to those who create the nation's wealth.

Our opponents have made a special appeal to those who hold fire and life insurance policies, but these policy-holders know that, since the total premiums received exceed the total losses paid, a rising standard must be of more benefit to the companies than to the policy holders.

Much solicitude has been expressed by our opponents for the depositors in savings banks. They constantly parade before these depositors the advantages of a gold standard, but these appeals will be in vain, because savings bank depositors know that under a gold standard there is increasing danger that they will lose their deposits because of the inability of the banks to collect their assets; and they still further know that, if the gold standard is to continue indefinitely, they may be compelled to withdraw their deposits in order to pay living expenses.

#### INCREASE OF FAILURES.

It is only necessary to note the increasing number of failures in order to know that a gold standard is ruinous to merchants and manufacturers. These business men do not make their profits from the people from whom they borrow money, but from the people to whom they sell their goods. If the people cannot buy, retailers cannot sell, and, if retailers cannot sell, wholesale merchants and manufacturers must go into bankruptcy.

Those who hold, as a permanent investment, the stock of railroads and other enterprises—I do not include those who speculate in stocks or use stock holdings as a means of obtaining an inside advantage in construction contracts—are injured by a gold standard. The rising dollar destroys the earning power of these enterprises without reducing their liabilities, and, as dividends cannot be paid until salaries and fixed charges have been satisfied, the stockholders must bear the burden of hard times.



Salaries in business occupations depend upon business conditions, and the gold standard both lessens the amount and threatens the permanency of such salaries.

Official salaries, except the salaries of those who hold office for life, must, in the long run, be adjusted to the conditions of those who pay the taxes, and if the present financial policy continues we must expect the contest between the taxpayer and the taxeater to increase in bitterness.

The professional classes—in the main—derive their support from the producing classes, and can only enjoy prosperity when there is prosperity among those who create wealth.

#### WHERE LOSS EXCEEDS GAIN.

I have not attempted to describe the effect of the gold standard upon all classes—in fact, I have only had time to mention a few—but each person will be able to apply the principles stated to his own occupation.

It must also be remembered that it is the desire of people generally to convert their earnings into real or personal property. This being true, in considering any temporary advantage which may come from a system under which the dollar rises in its purchasing power, it must not be forgotten that the dollar cannot buy more than formerly, unless property sells for less than formerly. Hence, it will be seen that a large portion of those who may find some pecuniary advantage in a gold standard will discover that their losses exceed their gains.

It is sometimes asserted by our opponents that a bank belongs to the debtor class, but this is not true of any solvent bank. Every statement published by a solvent bank shows that the assets exceed the liabilities. That is to say, while the bank owes a large amount of money to its depositors, it not only has enough on hand in money and notes to pay its depositors, but, in addition thereto, has enough to cover its capital and surplus. When the dollar is rising in value slowly, a bank may, by making short time loans and taking good security, avoid loss; but, when prices are falling rapidly, the bank is apt to lose more because of bad debts than it can gain by the increase in the purchasing power of its capital and surplus.

#### QUOTES THOMAS JEFFERSON.

It must be admitted, however, that some bankers combine

the business of a bond broker with the ordinary banking business, and these may make enough in the negotiation of loans to offset the losses arising in legitimate banking business. As long as human nature remains as it is there will always be danger that, unless restrained by public opinion or legal enactment, those who see a pecuniary profit for themselves in a certain condition may yield to the temptation to bring about that condition. Jefferson has stated that one of the main duties of government is to prevent men from injuring one another, and never was that duty more important than it is to-day.

It is not strange that those who have made a profit by furnishing gold to the government in the hour of its extremity, favor a financial policy which will keep the government dependent upon them. I believe, however, that I speak the sentiment of the vast majority of the people of the United States when I say that a wise financial policy administered in behalf of all the people would make our government independent of any combination of financiers, foreign or domestic.

Let me say a word, now, in regard to certain persons who are pecuniarily benefited by a gold standard, and who favor it, not from a desire to trespass upon the rights of others, but because the circumstances which surround them blind them to the effect of the gold standard upon others. I shall ask you to consider the language of two gentlemen whose long public service and high standing in the party to which they belong will protect them from adverse criticism by our opponents. In 1899 Senator Sherman said: "The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing operation than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that operation before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress."

#### PERIOD OF LOSS AND DANGER.

"To every person, except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer of annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy and disaster. It means ruin to all dealers whose debts are twice their business capital, though one-third less than their actual property. It means the fall of all agricultural production, without any great reduction of taxes. What prudent man

would dare to build a house, a railroad, a factory or a barn with this certain fact before him?"

As I have said before, the salaried officer referred to must be the man whose salary is fixed for life, and not the man whose salary depends upon business conditions. When Mr. Sherman describes contraction of the currency as disastrous to all the people, except the capitalist out of debt and those who stand in a position similar to his, he is stating a truth which must be apparent to every person who will give the matter careful consideration. Mr. Sherman was at that time speaking of the contraction of the volume of paper currency, but the principle which he set forth applies, if there is a contraction of the volume of the standard money of the world.

Mr. Blaine discussed the same principle in connection with the demonetization of silver. Speaking in the House of Representatives on the 7th of February, 1878, he said:—"I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in and throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and the establishing of gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property, except those invested which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property."

Is it strange that the "holders of investments which yield a fixed return in money" can regard the destruction of silver with complacency? May we not expect the holders of other forms of property to protest against giving money a "disproportionate and unfair advantage over other species of property?" If the relatively few whose wealth consists largely in fixed investments have a right to use the ballot to enhance the value of their investments, have not the rest of the people the right to use the ballot to protect themselves from the disastrous consequences of a rising standard?

#### BIMETALLISM AND PROSPERITY.

The people who must purchase money with the products of toil stand in a position entirely different from the position of those who own money or receive a fixed income. The well be-

ing of the nation—aye, the civilization itself—depends upon the prosperity of the masses. What shall it profit us to have a dollar which grows more valuable every day if such a dollar lowers the standard of civilization and brings distress to the people? What shall it profit us if, in trying to raise our credit by increasing the purchasing power of our dollar, we destroy our ability to pay the debts already contracted by lowering the purchasing power of the products with which those debts must be paid?

If it is asserted, as it constantly is asserted, that the gold standard will enable us to borrow more money from abroad, I reply that the restoration of bimetallism will restore the parity between money and property, and thus permit an era of prosperity which will enable the American people to become loaners of money instead of perpetual borrowers. Even if we desire to borrow, how long can we continue borrowing under a system which, by lowering the value of property, weakens the foundation upon which credit rests?

Even the holders of fixed investments, though they gain an advantage from the appreciation of the dollar, certainly see the injustice of the legislation which gives them this advantage over those whose incomes depend upon the value of property and products. If the holders of fixed investments will not listen to arguments based upon justice and equity I appeal to them to consider the interests of posterity.

We do not live for ourselves alone; our labor, our self-denial and our anxious care—all these are for those who are to come after us as much as for ourselves, but we cannot protect our children beyond the period of our lives. Let those who now are reaping advantage from a vicious financial system remember that in the years to come their own children and their children's children may, through the operation of this same system, be made to pay tribute to the descendants of those who are wronged to-day.

As against the maintenance of a gold standard, either permanently or until other nations can be united for its overthrow, the Chicago platform presents a clear and emphatic demand for the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We are not asking that a new experiment be tried; we are insisting upon

a return to a financial policy approved by the experience of history and supported by all the prominent statesmen of our nation from the days of the first President down to 1873.

#### FREE COINAGE ADVOCATED.

When we ask that our mints be opened to the free and unlimited coinage of silver into full legal tender money, we are simply asking that the same mint privileges be accorded to silver that are now accorded to gold. When we ask that this coinage be at the ratio of 16 to 1, we simply ask that our gold coins and the standard silver dollar—which, be it remembered, contains the same amount of pure silver as the first silver dollar coined at our mints—retain their present weight and fineness.

The theoretical advantage of the bimetallic system is best stated by a European writer on political economy, who suggests the following illustration:—A river fed from two sources is more uniform in volume than a river fed from one source—the reason being that when one of the feeders is swollen the other may be low; whereas, a river which has but one feeder must rise or fall with the feeder. So in the case of bimetallicism; the volume of metallic money receives contributions from both the gold mines and the silver mines, and, therefore, varies less; and the dollar, resting upon two metals, is less changeable in its purchasing power than the dollar which rests on one metal only.

If there are two kinds of money the option must rest either with the debtor or with the creditor. Assuming that their rights are equal, we must look at the interests of society in general in order to determine to which side the option should be given. Under the bimetallic system gold and silver are linked together by law at a fixed ratio, and any person or persons owning any quantity of either metal can have the same converted into full legal tender money. If the creditor has the right to choose the metal in which payment shall be made it is reasonable to suppose that he will require the debtor to pay in the dearer metal if there is any perceptible difference between the bullion values of the metals. This new demand created for the dearer metal will make that metal dearer still, while the decreased demand for the cheaper metal will make that metal cheaper still. If, on the other hand, the debtor exercises the

option, it is reasonable to suppose that he will pay in the cheaper metal if one metal is perceptibly cheaper than the other; but the demand thus created for the cheaper metal will raise its price, while the lessened demand for the dearer metal will lower its price.

#### DEBTOR'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE COIN.

In other words, when the creditor has the option the metals are drawn apart; whereas, when the debtor has the option the metals are held together approximately at the ratio fixed by law; provided, the demand created is sufficient to absorb all of both metals presented at the Mint. Society is, therefore, interested in having the option exercised by the debtor. Indeed, there can be no such thing as real bimetallism unless the option is exercised by the debtor. The exercise of the option of the debtor compels the creditor classes, whether domestic or foreign, to exert themselves to maintain the parity between gold and silver at the legal ratio, whereas they might find a profit in driving one of the metals to a premium if they could then demand the dearer metal. The right of the debtor to choose the coin in which payment shall be made extends to obligations due from the government as well as to contracts between individuals.

A government obligation is simply a debt due from all the people to one of the people, and it is impossible to justify a policy which makes the interests of the one person who holds the obligation superior to the rights of the many who must be taxed to pay it. When, prior to 1873, silver was at a premium, it was never contended that national honor required the payment of government obligations in silver, and the Matthews resolution, adopted by Congress in 1873, expressly asserted the right of the United States to redeem coin obligations in standard silver dollars as well as in gold coin.

Upon this subject the Chicago platform reads:—"We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin."

It is constantly assumed by some that the United States notes, commonly called greenbacks, and the Treasury notes, issued under the act of 1890, are responsible for the recent drain upon

the gold reserve, but this assumption is entirely without foundation. Secretary Carlisle appeared before the House Committee on Appropriations on January 21, 1895, and I quote from the printed report of his testimony before the committee:—

Mr. Sibley—I would like to ask you (perhaps not entirely connected with the matter under discussion) what objection there could be to having the option of redeeming either in silver or gold lie with the Treasury instead of the note holder?

#### CRITICISES SECRETARY CARLISLE.

Secretary Carlisle—If that policy had been adopted at the beginning of resumption—and I am not saying this for the purpose of criticising the action of any of my predecessors, or anybody else—but if the policy of reserving to the government, at the beginning of resumption, the option of redeeming in gold or silver all its paper presented, I believe it would have worked beneficially, and there would have been no trouble growing out of it, but the Secretaries of the Treasury from the beginning of resumption have pursued a policy of redeeming in gold or silver, at the option of the holder of the paper, and if any Secretary had afterward attempted to change that policy and force silver upon a man who wanted gold, or gold upon a man who wanted silver, and especially if he had made that attempt at such a critical period as we have had in the last two years, my judgment is it would have been very disastrous.

I do not agree with the Secretary that it was wise to follow a had precedent, but from his answer it will be seen that the fault does not lie with the greenbacks and Treasury notes, but rather with the Executive officers who have seen fit to surrender a right which should have been exercised for the protection of the interests of the people. This executive action has already been made the excuse for the issue of more than \$250,000,000 in bonds, and it is impossible to estimate the amount of bonds which may hereafter be issued if this policy is continued. We are told that any attempt upon the part of the government at this time to redeem its obligations in silver would put a premium upon gold, but why should it? The Bank of France exercises the right to redeem all bank paper in either gold or silver, and yet France maintains the parity between gold and silver at the ratio of 15 1-2 to 1, and retains in circulation more silver per capita than we do in the United States.

It may be further answered that our opponents have suggested no feasible plan for avoiding the dangers which they fear. The retirement of the greenbacks and Treasury notes would not protect the Treasury, because the same policy which now leads the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem all government paper in gold, when gold is demanded, will require the redemption of all silver dollars and silver certificates in gold, if the greenbacks and Treasury notes are withdrawn from circulation. More than this, if the government should retire its paper and throw upon the banks the necessity of furnishing coin redemption, the banks would exercise the right to furnish either gold or silver.

#### NECESSITY FOR BIMETALLISM.

In other words, they would exercise the option, just as the government ought to exercise it now. The government must either exercise the right to redeem its obligations in silver when silver is more convenient, or it must retire all the silver and silver certificates from circulation and leave nothing but gold as legal tender money. Are our opponents willing to outline a financial system which will carry out their policy to its legitimate conclusion, or will they continue to cloak their designs in ambiguous phrases?

There is an actual necessity for bimetallism as well as a theoretical defense of it. During the last twenty-three years legislation has been creating an additional demand for gold, and this law-created demand has resulted in increasing the purchasing power of each ounce of gold. The restoration of bimetallism in the United States will take away from gold just so much of its purchasing power as was added to it by the demonetization of silver by the United States. The silver dollar is now held up to the gold dollar by legal tender laws and not by redemption in gold, because the standard silver dollars are not now redeemable in gold, either in law or by administrative policy.

We contend that free and unlimited coinage by the United States alone will raise the bullion value of silver to its coinage value, and thus make silver bullion worth \$1.29 per ounce in gold throughout the world. This proposition is in keeping with natural laws, not 'n defiance of them. The best known law of commerce is the law of supply and demand. We recognize this



law and build our argument upon it. We apply this law to money when we say that a reduction in the volume of money will raise the purchasing power of the dollar; we also apply the law of supply and demand to silver when we say that a new demand for silver created by law will raise the price of silver bullion. Gold and silver are different from other commodities, in that they are limited in quantity. Corn, wheat, manufactured products, &c., can be produced almost without limit, provided they can be sold at a price sufficient to stimulate production, but gold and silver are called precious metals, because they are found, not produced.

#### METAL RATIO BY GOVERNMENT.

These metals have been the objects of anxious search as far back as history runs, yet, according to Mr. Harvey's calculation, all the gold coin of the world can be melted into a twenty-two foot cube and all the silver coin in the world into a sixty-six foot cube. Because gold and silver are limited, both in the quantity now in hand and in annual production, it follows that legislation can fix the ratio between them. Any purchaser who stands ready to take the entire supply of any given article at a certain price can prevent that article from falling below that price. So the government can fix a price for gold and silver by creating a demand greater than the supply. International bimetallicists believe that several nations, by entering into an agreement to coin at a fixed ratio all the gold and silver presented, can maintain the bullion value of the metals at the mint ratio. When a mint price is thus established, it regulates the bullion price, because any person desiring coin may have the bullion converted into coin at that price, and any person desiring bullion can secure it by melting the coin.

The only question upon which international bimetallicists and independent bimetallicists differ is:--Can the United States, by the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present legal ratio create a demand for silver which, taken in connection with the demand already in existence, will be sufficient to utilize all the silver that will be presented at the mints? They agree in their defence of the bimetallic principle, and they agree in unalterable opposition to the gold standard. International bimetallicists cannot complain that free coinage gives a benefit to the mine owner, because international bimetallicism gives to

the owner of silver all the advantages offered by independent bimetallism at the same ratio. International bimetallists cannot accuse the advocates of free silver of being "bullion owners who desire to raise the value of their bullion," or "debtors who desire to pay their debts in cheap dollars," or "demagogues who desire to curry favor with the people. They must rest their opposition upon one ground only—namely, that the supply of silver available for coinage is too large to be utilized by the United States.

In discussing this question we must consider the capacity of our people to use silver and the quantity of silver which can come to our mints. It must be remembered that we live in a country only partially developed, and that our people far surpass any equal number of people in the world in their power to consume and produce. Our extensive railroad development and enormous internal commerce must also be taken into consideration. Now, how much silver can come here? Not the coined silver of the world, because almost all of it is more valuable at this time in other lands than it will be at our mints under free coinage. If our mints were opened to free and unlimited coinage at the present ratio, merchandise silver cannot come here, because the labor applied to it has made it worth more in the form of merchandise than it will be worth at our mints.

#### SILVER CURRENCY LONG IN USE.

We cannot even expect all of the annual product of silver, because India, China, Japan, Mexico and all the other silver-using countries must satisfy their annual needs from the annual product; the arts will require a large amount, and the gold standard countries will need a considerable quantity for subsidiary coinage. We will be required to coin only that which is not needed elsewhere; but, if we stand ready to take and utilize all of it, other nations will be compelled to buy at the price which we fix. Many fear that the opening of our mints will be followed by the enormous increase in the annual production of silver. This is conjecture. Silver has been used as money for thousands of years, and during all of that time the world has never suffered from an over production.

If, for any reason, the supply of gold or silver in the future ever exceeds the requirements of the arts and the needs of

commerce, we confidently hope that the intelligence of the people will be sufficient to devise and enact any legislation necessary for the protection of the public. It is folly to refuse to the people the money which they now need for fear they may hereafter have more than they need. I am firmly convinced that by opening our mints to free and unlimited coinage at the present ratio we can create a demand for silver which will keep the price of silver bullion at \$1.29 per ounce, measured by gold.

Some of our opponents attribute the fall in the value of silver when measured by gold, to the fact that during the last quarter of a century the world's supply of silver has increased more rapidly than the world's supply of gold. This argument is entirely answered by the fact that, during the last five years, the annual production of gold has increased more rapidly than the annual production of silver. Since the gold price of silver has fallen more during the last five years than it ever fell in any previous five years in the history of the world, it is evident that the fall is not due to increased production. Prices can be lowered as effectually by decreasing the demand for an article as by increasing the supply of it, and it seems certain that the fall in the gold price of silver is due to hostile legislation and not to natural laws.

#### OUTFLOW OF GOLD TO EUROPE.

Our opponents cannot ignore the fact that gold is now going abroad in spite of all legislation intended to prevent it, and no silver is being coined to take its place. Not only is gold going abroad now, but it must continue to go abroad as long as the present financial policy is adhered to, unless we continue to borrow from across the ocean, and even then we simply postpone the evil, because the amount borrowed, together with interest upon it, must be repaid in appreciating dollars. The American people now owe a large sum to European creditors, and falling prices have left a larger and larger margin between our net national income and our annual interest charge. There is only one way to stop the increasing flow of gold from our shores, and that is to stop falling prices.

The restoration of bimetallism will not only stop falling prices, but will—to some extent—restore prices, by reducing the world's demand for gold. If it is argued that a rise in prices lessens the value of the dollars which we pay to our creditors, I reply

that, in the balancing of equities, the American people have as much right to favor a financial system which will maintain or restore prices as foreign creditors have to insist upon a financial system that will reduce prices. But the interests of society are far superior to the interests of either debtors or creditors, and the interests of society demand a financial system which will add to the volume of the standard money of the world, and thus restore stability to prices.

Perhaps the most persistent misrepresentation that we have to meet is the charge that we are advocating the payment of debts in fifty-cent dollars. At the present time and under present laws, a silver dollar, when melted, loses nearly half its value, but that will not be true when we again establish a mint price for silver and leave no surplus silver on the market to drag down the price of bullion. Under bimetallism silver bullion will be worth as much as silver coin, just as gold bullion is now worth as much as gold coin, and we believe that a silver dollar will be worth as much as a gold dollar.

#### MEXICO NO COMPARISON.

The charge of repudiation comes with poor grace from those who are seeking to add to the weight of existing debts by legislation which makes money dearer, and who conceal their designs against the general welfare under the euphonious pretense that they are upholding public credit and national honor.

In answer to the charge that gold will go abroad, it must be remembered that no gold can leave this country until the owner of the gold receives something in return for it which he would rather have. In other words, when gold leaves the country those who formerly owned it will be benefited. There is no process by which we can be compelled to part with our gold against our will, nor is there any process by which silver can be forced upon us without our consent. Exchanges are matters of agreement, and if silver comes to this country under free coinage it will be at the invitation of some one in this country who will give something in exchange for it.

Those who deny the ability of the United States to maintain the parity between gold and silver at the present legal ratio without foreign aid point to Mexico and assert that the opening of our mints will reduce us to a silver basis and raise gold to a premium. It is no reflection upon our sister Republic to remind

our people that the United States is much greater than Mexico in area, in population and in commercial strength. It is absurd to state that the United States is not able to do anything which Mexico has failed to accomplish. The one thing necessary in order to maintain the parity is to furnish a demand great enough to utilize all the silver which will come to the mints. That Mexico has failed to do this is not proof that the United States would also fail.

It is also argued that, since a number of the nations have demonetized silver, nothing can be done until all those nations restore bimetalism. This is also illogical. It is immaterial how many or how few nations have open mints, provided there are sufficient open mints to furnish a monetary demand for all the gold and silver available for coinage.

#### COST OF PRODUCTION NOT A FACTOR.

In reply to the argument that improved machinery has lessened the cost of producing silver, it is sufficient to say that the same is true of the production of gold, and yet, notwithstanding that, gold has risen in value. As a matter of fact, the cost of production does not determine the value of precious metals, except as it may affect the supply. If, for instance, the cost of producing gold should be reduced ninety per cent. without any increase in the output, the purchasing power of an ounce of gold would not fall. So long as there is a monetary demand sufficient to take at a fixed mint price all the gold and silver produced, the cost of production need not be considered.

It is often objected that the prices of gold and silver cannot be fixed in relation to each other, because of the variation in the relative production of the metals. This argument also overlooks the fact that, if the demand for both metals at a fixed price is greater than the supply of both, relative production becomes immaterial. In the early part of the present century production of silver was worth, at the coinage ratio, about three times as much as the annual production of gold; whereas, soon after 1849, the annual production of gold became worth about three times as much at the coinage ratio as the annual production of silver; and yet, owing to the maintenance of the bimetallic standard, these enormous changes in relative production had but a slight effect upon the relative values of the metals.

If it is asserted by our opponents that the free coinage of silver is intended only for the benefit of the mine owners it must be remembered that free coinage cannot restore to the mine owners any more than demonetization took away; and it must also be remembered that the loss which the demonetization of silver has brought to the mine owners is insignificant compared to the loss which this policy has brought to the rest of the people. The restoration of silver will bring to the people generally many times as much advantage as the mine owners can obtain from it. While it is not the purpose of free coinage to specially aid any particular class, yet those who believe that the restoration of silver is needed by the whole people should not be deterred because an incidental benefit will come to the mine owner. The erection of forts, the deepening of harbors, the improvement of rivers, the erection of public buildings—all these confer incidental benefits upon individuals and communities, and yet these incidental benefits do not deter us from making appropriations for these purposes whenever such appropriations are necessary for the public good.

#### SILVER CERTIFICATES ARE HANDY.

The argument that a silver dollar is heavier than a gold dollar, and that, therefore, silver is less convenient to carry in large quantities, is completely answered by the silver certificate, which is as easily carried as the gold certificate or any other kind of paper money.

There are some who, while admitting the benefits of bimetallism, object to coinage at the present ratio. If any are deceived by this objection they ought to remember that there are no bimetallists who are earnestly endeavoring to secure it at any other ratio than 16 to 1. We are opposed to any change in the ratio for two reasons—First, because a change would produce great injustice; and, second, because a change in the ratio is unnecessary. A change would produce injustice because, if effected in the manner usually suggested, it would result in an enormous contraction in the volume of standard money.

If, for instance, it was decided by international agreement to raise the ratios throughout the world to 32 to 1 the change might be effected in any one of three ways:—

The silver dollar could be doubled in size, so that the new sil-

ver dollar would weigh thirty-two times as much as the present gold dollar; or the present gold dollar could be reduced one-half in weight, so that the present silver dollar would weigh thirty-two times as much as the new gold dollar; or the change could be made by increasing the size of the silver dollar and decreasing the size of the gold dollar until the new silver dollar would weigh thirty-two times as much as the new gold dollar. Those who have advised a change in the ratio have usually suggested that the silver dollar be doubled.

If this change were made it would necessitate the recoinage of four billions of silver into two billions of dollars. There would be an immediate loss of two billions of dollars, either to individuals or to the government, but this would be the least of the injury. A shrinkage of one-half in the silver money of the world would mean a shrinkage of one-fourth in the total volume of metallic money. This contraction, by increasing the value of the dollar, would virtually increase the debts of the world billions of dollars, and decrease still more the value of the property of the world as measured by dollars. Besides this immediate result, such a change in the ratio would permanently decrease the annual addition to the world's supply of money, because the annual silver product, when coined into dollars twice as large, would make only half as many dollars.

The people of the United States would be injured by a change in the ratio, not because they produce silver, but because they own property and owe debts, and they cannot afford to thus decrease the value of their property or increase the burden of their debts.

In 1878 Mr. Carlisle said:—"Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population and industry." I repeat this assertion. All of the gold and silver annually available for coinage, when converted into coin at the present ratio, will not, in my judgment, more than supply our monetary needs.

In supporting the act of 1890, known as the Sherman act, Senator Sherman, on June 5 of that year, said:—

"Under the law of February, 1878, the purchase of \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion a month has by coinage produced annually an average of nearly \$3,000,000 per month for a period of twelve years, but this amount, in view of the retirement of the

bank notes, will not increase our currency in proportion to our increasing population. If our present currency is estimated at \$1,400,000,000, and our population is increasing at the ratio of three per cent. per annum, it would require \$42,000,000,000 increased circulation each year to keep pace with the increase of population; but, as the increase of population is accompanied by a still greater ratio of increase of wealth and business, it was thought that an immediate increase of circulation might be obtained by larger purchases of silver bullion to an amount sufficient to make good the retirement of bank notes and keep pace with the growth of population. Assuming that \$54,000,000 a year of additional currency is needed upon this basis, that amount is provided for in this bill by the issue of Treasury notes in exchange for bullion at the market price."

#### CHANGE IN RATIO UNNECESSARY.

If the United States then needed more than forty-five millions annually to keep pace with population and business, it now, with a larger population, needs a still greater annual addition; and the United States is only one nation among many. Our opponents make no adequate provision for the increasing monetary needs of the world.

In the second place, a change in the ratio is not necessary. Hostile legislation has decreased the demand for silver and lowered its price when measured by gold, while this same hostile legislation, by increasing the demand for gold, has raised the value of gold when measured by other forms of property.

We are told that the restoration of bimetallism would be a hardship upon those who have entered into contracts payable in gold coin, but this is a mistake. It will be easier to obtain the gold with which to meet a gold contract, when most of the people can use silver, than it is now, when every one is trying to secure gold.

The Chicago platform expressly declares in favor of such legislation as may be necessary to prevent, for the future, the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract. Such contracts are objected to on the ground that they are against public policy. No one questions the right of legislatures to fix the rate of interest which can be collected by law; there is far more reason for preventing private individuals



from setting aside legal tender law. The money which is by law made a legal tender must, in the course of ordinary business, be accepted by ninety-two out of every hundred persons. Why should the one-hundredth man be permitted to exempt himself from the general rule. Special contracts have a tendency to increase the demand for a particular kind of money and thus force it to a premium. Have not the people a right to say that a comparatively few individuals shall not be permitted to derange the financial system of the nation in order to collect a premium in case they succeed in forcing one kind of money to a premium."

There is another argument to which I ask your attention. Some of the more zealous opponents of free coinage point to the fact that thirteen months must elapse between the election and the first regular session of Congress, and assert that during that time, in case people declare themselves in favor of free coinage, all loans will be withdrawn and all mortgages foreclosed. If these are merely prophecies indulged in by those who have forgotten the provisions of the Constitution it will be sufficient to remind them that the President is empowered to convene Congress in extraordinary session whenever the public good requires such action. If, in November, the people by their ballots declare themselves in favor of the immediate restoration of bimetallism, the system can be inaugurated with a few months.

#### THREATS OF NO AVAIL.

If, however, the assertion that loans will be withdrawn and mortgages foreclosed is made to prevent such political action as the people may believe to be necessary for the preservation of their rights, then a new and vital issue is raised. Whenever it is necessary for the people as a whole to obtain consent from the owners of money and the changers of money before they can legislate upon financial questions, we shall have passed from a Democracy to a Plutocracy. But that time has not yet arrived. Threats and intimidation will be of no avail. The people, in 1776, rejected the doctrine that kings ruled by right divine, will yet in the generation, subscribe to a doctrine that money is omnipotent.

In conclusion permit me to say a word in regard to international bimetallism. We are not opposed to an international

agreement looking to the restoration of bimetallism throughout the world. The advocates of free coinage have on all occasions shown their willingness to co-operate with other nations in the reinstatement of silver, but they are not willing to await the pleasure of other governments when immediate relief is needed by the people of the United States, and their further belief that independent action offers better assurance of international bimetallism than servile dependence upon foreign aid. For more than twenty years we have invited the assistance of European nations, but all progress in the direction of international bimetallism has been blocked by the opposition of those who derive a pecuniary benefit from the appreciation of gold. How long must we wait for bimetallism to be brought to us by those who profit by monometallism? If the double standard will bring benefits to our people, who will deny them the right to enjoy those benefits?

If our opponents would admit the right, the ability and the duty of our people to act for themselves on all public questions without the assistance and regardless of the wishes of other nations, and then propose the remedial legislation which they consider sufficient, we could meet them in the field of honorable debate; but when they assert that this nation is helpless to protect the rights of its own citizens, we challenge them to submit the issue to a people whose patriotism has never been appealed to in vain.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT URGED.

We shall not offend other nations when we declare the right of the American people to govern themselves, and, without let or hindrance from without, decide upon every question presented for their consideration. In taking this position we simply maintain the dignity of seventy million citizens who are second to none in their capacity for self-government.

The gold standard has compelled the American people to pay an ever-increasing tribute to the creditor nations of the world—a tribute which no one dares to defend. I assert that national honor requires the United States to secure justice for all its citizens as well as do justice to all its creditors. For a people like ours, blest with natural resources of surpassing richness, to proclaim themselves impotent to frame a financial system suited to their own needs, is humiliating beyond the power of

language to describe. We cannot enforce respect for our foreign policy so long as we confess ourselves unable to frame our own financial policy.

Honest differences of opinion have always existed, and ever will exist, as to the legislation best calculated to promote the public weal; but, when it is seriously asserted that this nation must bow to the dictation of other nations and accept the policies which they insist upon, the right of self-government is assailed, and until that question is settled all other questions are insignificant.

Citizens of New York—I have travelled from the centre of the continent to the seaboard that I might, in the very beginning of the campaign, bring you greeting from the people of the West and South and assure you that their desire is not to destroy but to build up. They invite you to accept the principles of a living faith rather than listen to those who preach the gospel of despair and advise endurance of the ills you have. The advocates of free coinage believe that, in striving to secure the immediate restoration of bimetallism, they are laboring in your behalf as well as in their own behalf. A few of your people may prosper under present conditions, but the permanent welfare of New York rests upon the producers of wealth.

#### ASKS NEW YORK'S CO-OPERATION.

This great city is built upon the commerce of the nation, and must suffer if that commerce is impaired. You cannot sell unless the people have money with which to buy, and they cannot obtain the money with which to buy unless they are able to sell their products at remunerative prices. Production of wealth goes before the exchange of wealth; those who create must secure a profit before they have anything to share with others. You cannot afford to join the money changers in supporting a financial policy which, by destroying the purchasing power of the products of toil, must in the end discourage the creation of wealth.

I ask, I expect, your co-operation. It is true that a few of your financiers would fashion a new figure—a figure representing Columbia, her hands bound fast with fetters of gold and her face turned toward the East, appealing for assistance to those who live beyond the sea—but this figure can never express your idea of this nation. You will rather turn for inspiration to the

heroic statue which guards the entrance to your city—a statue as patriotic in conception as it is colossal in proportions. It was the gracious gift of a sister Republic and stands upon a pedestal which was built by the American people.

That figure—Liberty enlightening the world—is emblematic of the mission of our nation among the nations of the earth. With a government which derives its powers from the consent of the governed, secures to all the people freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and freedom of speech; guarantees equal rights to all and promises special privileges to none, the United States should be an example in all that is good, and the leading spirit in every movement which has for its object the uplifting of the human race,

### MR. SEWALL'S SPEECH.

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Chairman Danforth introduced Mr. Sewall, the candidate for Vice-President, who spoke as follows:

You have given official notice of my selection by the Democratic National Convention as its candidate for Vice President.

For the courteous terms of your message and the kind personal expressions, I thank you.

Having been present at that great convention, I can more truly estimate the honor its action has conferred.

It was the greatest and most earnest convention in the history of our party. It was closer and more in touch with the people. The delegates were there to voice the sentiments of their constituents, the people of the party, for the people of the party controlled and conducted that convention.

#### POTENT PRINCIPLES.

The Democracy of the country realize that all the great principles of our party are as potent and essential to the well-being of the country to-day as they have always been, and as they ever will be, but the overshadowing issue before the country now, made dominant by the demand for reform in our monetary system.

Our party and, we believe, a great majority of the American people are convinced that the legislation of 1873 demonetizing silver was a wrong inflicted upon our country which should and must be righted.

#### UNSTABLE CURRENCY.

We believe that the single gold standard has so narrowed the base of our monetary structure that it is unstable and unsafe; and so dwarfed it, in its development and in its power to furnish the necessary financial blood to the Nation, that commercial and industrial paralysis has followed.

We believe that we need and must have the broad and expanding foundation of both gold and silver to support a monetary system strong and stable, capable of meeting the demands of a growing country and an industrious, energetic and enterprising people, a system that will not be weakened and panic-stricken by every foreign draft upon us, a system that will maintain a parity of just values and the Nation's money and protect us from the frequent fluctuations of to-day, so disastrous to every business and industry of the land.

#### MONEY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

We demand the free coinage of silver, the opening of our mints to both money metals without discrimination, the return to the money of our fathers, the money of the Constitution—gold and silver.

We believe this is the remedy and the only remedy for the evil from which we are now suffering—the evil that is now so fast devastating and impoverishing our land and people, bringing poverty to our homes and bankruptcy to our business, which, if allowed to continue, will grow until our very institutions are threatened.

#### GOLD APPRECIATED.

The demonetization of silver has thrown the whole primary money function on gold, appreciating its value and purchasing power. Restore the money function to silver and silver will appreciate and its purchasing power increase. Take from gold its monopoly, its value will be reduced and in due course the parity of the two metals will again obtain under natural causes.

We shall then have a broad and unlimited foundation for a monetary system, commensurate with our country's needs and future development, not the unsafe basis of to-day, reduced by half by the removal of silver and continually undermined by foreigners carrying from us our gold.

#### PLEDGED TO REFORM.

This is the reform to which we are pledged, the reform the people demand, the return to the monetary system of over eighty years of our national existence.

The Democratic party has already given its approval and its

pledge. Our opponents admit the wisdom of the principle for which we contend but ask us to await permission and co-operation of other nations.

Our people will not wait. They will not ask permission of any nation on earth to relieve themselves of the cause of their distress. The issue has been made. The people stand ready to render their verdict next November.

#### INDORSES THE PLATFORM.

Mr. Chairman, unequivocally and through sincere conviction, I indorse the platform on which I have been nominated.

I believe we are right, the people are with us, and what the people declare is always right and must prevail.

I accept the nomination, and with the people's confirmation, every effort of which God shall render me capable will be exerted in support of the principles involved.

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